

R Room
HONDA Angel-cynnan;

OR,
A COMPLEAT VIEW
OF THE
Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,
From the Arrival of the SAXONS to the present Time;
WITH
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,
During the Government of the ROMANS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,
Author of the REGAL & ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

Thus deep Desire hath lastly moved me
On Pilgrimage Time's Traces to pursue,
The Relickes of his Ruines for to see,
And for the Love of my deere Nation due,
The Things concerning them which I did view,
Tending to English Honour, earst concealed,
Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.

Verstegan's Prefatory Poem to his Restitution of Decayed Antiquities

LONDON:

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Joseph Angel-cyannan;

A COMPLETE VIEW
OF THE
Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND
From the Arrival of the Saxons to the Present Time

WITH
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS
During the Government of the Romans.



IN THREE VOLUMES.
By JOSEPH ANGELO-CYANNAN
Author of the *Recollections of the Antiquities of England*

VOL. III.

This book is the last of a series of three
On the Manners, Customs, &c. of the
The People of the Island of Great Britain
And for the Love of my dear Native Land
The Things concerning them which I did write
I send to my dear Mother, and I have
Wish to my dear Mother, and I have

LONDON:
Printed for WALTER SHROPSHIRE, No. 158, New
Bond-Street.
MDCCLXXXV.

P R E F A C E.



AS heretofore I promised that this work should be compleated in two volumes, I may now need some excuse for the putting forth a third. It should be recollected, that I did faithfully perform my first engagement, and brought the manners and customs of the people down to the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, as was then promised, making the work as compleat as I possibly could: nor had I at that time the least thought or intention of continuing it down, as I have now done, to the present æra; for if I had, I should have made no scruple of declaring my plan at once to the public. But in my researches, having met with such a variety of excellent and authentic materials, I collected them together, and declared my design to a considerable number of the former purchasers; and they (so far from expressing the least dissatisfaction) used all their endeavours to encourage me in the pursuit thereof, and the more so, as in the former volumes the discourse was broken off in the most interesting part of our annals --- I have then, for these reasons, once more taken up my pen, and once more claim the indulgence of a favouring public.

In this volume, the reader will find the number of plates greatly diminished; but then he will see, at the same time, how much better they are, and how much higher finished, which may in some measure compensate for the deficiency. To the letter press, there is made the addition of upwards of eight whole sheets, or sixty-four pages.

The variety of materials which compose the present volume are not conjectural, but real facts, collected from the best and most undoubted authorities; by means of which almost all the ancient customs and ceremonies, from the early times to the present period, are set forth and fully explained.

Also at the end of this volume is the addition made of three compleat Indexes, referring to every remarkable circumstance throughout the whole body of the work, one of them to each separate volume.

TABLE of the Principal Heads contained in Vol. III.

A R M I E S, and the Arrangement thereof

Method of Encampment

Soldiers, Arms, &c.

Government

Royal Proceffions, &c.

Coronations

Nobility and their Creation

Laws and Administration of Justice

Shipping and Marine Affairs

Husbandry, &c.

Collections relative to sundry Trades

Domestic Affairs

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Banquets

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Sports and Pastimes

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Separate volume.

THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE
ENGLISH,
CONTINUED.



THE laudable desire of preserving, and handing down to posterity, a collection (as compleat as possible) of our national antiquities, induces me once more to take up my pen.—In the two preceding volumes, I have brought the manners and customs, of our early ancestors, to the reign of Henry the Eighth:—in this, my task will be to continue the same down to the present time.

In the former æras, 'tis true, the materials (particularly in the more early periods) were but few, and the subjects oftentimes obscured with the clouds of barbarism and error: to make amends in the volume now before us, we are advancing into a more extensive, and I believe more pleasing scene: the prospect is far more clear, and beautiful; for we shall now find our progenitors making hasty strides to perfection; the sun of literature, and politeness, advances to its meridian, while superstition and the dark veil of error, which formerly shaded the minds of men, by degrees doth vanish, and give place to truth and reason. But though in learning, and the polite arts, the present age is greatly superior to any of the foregoing, yet that noble hospitality, that honest simplicity, which has always been the true characteristic of the antient Englishman, must raise in our minds a great and honourable idea of our ancestors.—In short, all ages have produced, and will produce, as long as the world endures, ridiculous customs and fooleries without end; whilst even the most dark, and unenlightened times, do constantly abound with many great and striking instances of heroic virtue and nobleness of soul, worthy not only of our observation, but also of our imitation.

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To pursue my plan regularly, as I did before in the two former volumes, I should here begin with the Modern Fortifications.—But this subject I shall entirely pass over, for these reasons; first, that the alterations and the additions made in this art are so various, and the vast variety of different specimens, which would be absolutely necessary to be given, so numerous, that this single article alone would fill the limits I have set to myself in this volume; and to enter superficially into the matter, would be only confusing, rather than elucidating the subject; secondly, I wish, in these my publications, rather to throw light upon subjects that are obscure, or unknown, than to animadvert upon such as are well understood, or may easily be come at.—On this art, many very curious, and copious volumes, have already been written and published, which will explain it, in all its branches, in a far better manner than I am able to do, or indeed than my design can require; referring therefore the curious reader to such publications, I shall pass on immediately, to

The Armies, and Arrangement of them, in the latter ENGLISH Æra.

MS. in Bib.
Cott. infig.
Tiberius,
E. VIII.

In my researches amongst the valuable MSS. preserved in the Cotton Library, I met with one written in the reign of Henry the Eighth; in which I find

“ The Order to be had, when the King goeth to Battle.”

All which I will set down in the same language and orthography as I found it.

First, the constable, and lord marshall, ought to send out ryders to discover the countreyes together, as the army draweth nearer every day.

After them one marshall, or other valiant man, conjoin'd with good esquierie, of good men and horse; and they to have with them good ordonaunce, and store of shott, sufficient for to succor the distress (if neede be) of the spyers.

After them the marshall of the lodgings, the knight harbenger, steward, pourveyors, and sergeaunts of the tents, with theyr trayne to decipline the lodging.

The Forewarde of the Battle, to be in order as followeth:

The constable, and marshall as chiefe, to give order there, as the tyme and place may require; with the ordonaunce in order followinge; as equyers, knights, bannerets, barons, and the officers at arms, to ride here and there, where they shall be commanded.

The constable the first in the fore-ward, then the barons, knights, and esquieres; next after the maister of the ordonaunce, with the ordonaunce, and all thinges to him appurtainyng.

The master of the horse ought to beare, or cause to be borne, the kynges standard unto the tyme of the battle; then he must beare it himself.

The

The kinges henchmen, upon bardett horses, having the armour of the kyng, both for the body and the head.

Then the trumpetters, next after the henchmen ;

Then pennons of the bachellers knightes ;

Next banners of the bannerettes two and two, after their degree ;

The barons two, and two,

The banners of the noble men of the blood, two and two, after their degree, and dignity ;

The banner of the kyng ; which ought to be borne into the field, or battle :

The chief chamberlayne ;

And two rankes from the barons, the kinges of armes, heralds, and pursuivants ; to be sent here and there, as cause shall be.

Then shall folowe the kyng, accompayned with princes of the blood royal, dukes, lords, earles, and other noble men, to a great power.

The chief carver, ought to bear the kinges pennon, there where the kinge goeth most, next and behynde, to the ende that every man may know where the kinge is.

Memorandum. They that bear banners, standards, or pennons, on horseback ; the voiage accomplished,—it is their right to have them.

The Rerewarde.

After cometh the rerewarde ; where the dukes, earles, and marshalles, be well accompayned, with the valientest men ; and with the shott appertayning to the armye.

After the rerewarde, at a little distance, some companyes of good horsemen ;

After them horsemen well furnished, which shall tarrye behynde, and shall go on bothe sydes, to discover that they be not taken, or rather that the rereward should not be suddenly attacked : and on the two sydes, shall be two wynges ; and therein gonnes, conducted by two princes, where the admirall, or the marshall, or the maister of the ordinaunce, or other captaynes, wyse and valient, shall suddenly send to the right, and left sydes, good and sufficient men at armys on horseback, for to discover the countries, passages, and lands, &c.

In another copy I met with the following addition, which, because it still further explains the present subject, I have given word for word.

In ibid.
MS.

The Ordynaunce of the Kinge, when he goeth to Battaylle.

When a kyng will goe to warre, in the countrie of his enemyes, and intendeth to make batayle ; he must have in the forewarde ; the maister of his crosse bowes, to be before the kyng ; and after the forewarde, the high steward, and the marshall of his lodgyng, the which is for the battaylle of the kyng ; and then the kyng, accompayned with dukes, and earles, of hys bloode, and barons of his realme ; and then in the rerewarde, must be put a

duke, or an earle, or one of the marshalles, if the forewarde be stronge enough, to resist the enemies.

The Order of a Kynge, if he intend to fyghte.

The kynge arrayed in his own coat of armes, must be on horseback, on a good horse, covered also with his armes:—The kynge must also wear a crown upon hys headpiece; and on each syde of hym two dukes, or knyghtes of the valiauntest that he hath in hys armye, well mounted, and armyd at all poyntes, covered with the armes of the kynges bearynge; in their handes each of them to bear, a banner of hys armes:—and before the kynge to be appoynted five hundred speares, with hys banners;—behind the kynge hys gentleman*—shall go bearynge hys pennon, wheresoever the kynge goeth.—And if it happen the kynge to go from the battayle, to make ordinaunces, or other thinges; then shall the constable, and marshalles, ryde alonge the battayle, to ordayne and keep good order, and arraye in the armye.—The kynge ought to be accompayned with dukes, and earles, and to contynue under hys banners. If the enemye will fight on foote, the kynge must still byde on horsebacke, and those that carry hys banners must be on foot, accompayned as beforesaide: The kynge must be on horsebacke, because that the dignitie of a kynge hath that priviledge; and for that it ought to suffice, to see hys people fight; and it is requisite, that he see from one ende of the felde to the other, to comfort his armye and give them courage: also if it happen that the felde should be lost, he may save hymself; for it is better to loose a battayle, then to loose a kynge; for the loosyng of a kynge, is often the losse of a realme.

In the same MS. I met with the following ordinances.

Howe to maintayne a Duke in Battayle, and in what Arraye.

The duke must ordeyne his battayle, as aforesaide †, and must have his horse with hys armes, and himself likewise arrayed in hys owne coate; and to have a coronnet of golde, and pretious stones upon hys heade peece, signifieng that he is a duke: To have a banner, and pennon of hys armes, and to be accompayned with 300 speres; and his banner in the mydst; and archers for the winges; and hys earles and barons: and if he ordeyne hys battayle on foote, he must stande undyr hys banner, accompayned with hys earles, and barons, on eyche syde of hym; and to do hys devoir untill he be taken or slayne: For the kynge his soveraigne is bownd to revenge, and ayde hym, and to releese hym also from prisen;—and for this cause the duke ought more to adventure hymselfe than a kynge, in any battayle that is.

How

* Hys gentleman—What office this gentleman bore is not to be seen at present in the above copy, being entirely obliterated: but from the quotation before we may, I believe, supply the want, where we are informed that the chief carver ought to bear the kyngs pennon, &c.

† As aforesaide,—that is as the *kings army* was arranged; for this order for the duke, is when he shall be commander in chief in the kings absence.

How to maintayne an Earle, in Battayle.

An earle must have 200 speares, and also archers with hym; if he goe *into the battayle he must* have one hundred speares before hym to fyght; *and to have a banner of hys armes,* and penons, with the other hundred speares, *to keepe hys bodye,* and the bowmen before in the *winges,* to proceed in good arraye.*

The same number of men, and the same ordinaunce, belong also to a Marquis.

How to maintayne a Baron.

The baron must have 100 speares: 50 to fight, and the other 50 for to keepe his bodye; and hys banner; but he must have no pennon; which is the difference between the earl and the baron.

How to maintayne a Bannerett.

A Bannerett must have 50 speares and bowmen; 25 to fight, and 25 for to keepe hys bodye and hys banner.—He is to be under the barons, and if there be any other banners of honor, according to their nobilitye, and in like wise all men that bear armes.

Then followe these directions, for to Ordeyne Battayles, and to arraynge the hoste.

1st. They must not be set too thick together, lest one should encumber the other.

2dly. Not too thin, lest the light armed of the enemy should easily enter amongst them to annoy them:

3dly. To set the best armed, strongest, and best weapon'd men in front, the weakest in the rear.

4thly, The general may divide his army into four or five battles, as he may see occasion; but if the enemy be stronger than himself, he should bring all his men together, and endeavour to force in upon the enemy unawares.

Seven Precepts, shewing how the Enemy may be stronge.

1st, When they are assembled in good order.

2dly, When they have the advantage of any passages of water, mountains, straights, &c.

3dly, When the wind, the sun, or the dust is in their backs:

4thly, When they assail their opponents suddenly, while at meat or otherways employed, thinking themselves secure.

5thly, If they have been some time at ease, untired with long marches, watches, &c.

6thly,

* This part is all dreadfully mutilated and torn in the MS. but I believe I have with examining some other tracts, pretty well supplied the deficiency; all that which is printed in italics, is added.

6thly, While they hold together in firm league without diffention and quarrels.

7thly, If they are well acquainted with the state and condition of their adversaries.

Seven other Precepts contrary.

1st, The chieftain must endeavour to assault, and break the ranks of his enemies.

2dly, He ought to secure all passages, straights, mountains, &c. where he can post himself to advantage.

3dly, He should be careful so to contrive his battle, as to have the advantage of the sun, the wind, and the dust, &c.

4thly, He should be careful to let some part of his host, as well men as horses, have both meat and drink before they approach the enemy, that they may then guard the rest against any sudden assault.

5thly, He should constantly (if possible) assail the enemy, when they are weary and harrassed with long marches, and fatigued with watching, &c.

6thly, He should by spies and emissaries, strive to breed debates and quarrels in the army of his adversaries, to hurt their order and divide them.

7thly, He ought to be very close and secret in his own intentions, yet striving by all manner of means to discover the state, the number, and the motions of his adversaries.

Codex in
Bib. Cotton.
infig. Au-
gustus 3.

To this I will add the order and arrangement of the royal army of Henry the Eighth, as I find it drawn upon the march toward the enemies, in a curious delineation, preserved in a large book in the Cotton Library * (and most likely done at the time) †.—First go a strong party of horse, and on either side 2 cannons, guarded by 2 troops of horse, one to the right the other to the left: then follow a large party of musketeers and henchmen, rank'd alternately, preceeded by a small party, and followed by a larger party of musketeers only, and at either end as wings, go a small party of archers; and on the right and on the left, several pieces of cannon; then follows the main body, flanked at each end with a strong party of archers, and on either side a large wing of horsemen well armed; the main body is composed of pikemen and henchmen; the henchmen being placed in the middle to guard the kings person; after the main body follows a small party of musketeers, then a larger body of musketeers, flank'd on either side with a small company of archers, which is also followed by a party of musketeers only; on either side are many pieces of cannon, and behind, (guarded by a strong troop of horse) comes the baggage, the women, the oxen, sheep, and the like.

In

* Of this curious book see a full account in the description of the MSS. at the end of the Vol.

† This march is also described by Holingshead, page 1479, and he has added the names of the leaders; it may be well worth while to the reader whom this may concern, to compare the two accounts: the king was present in person, and in this state marched from Calais toward the French army the 21st. of July, A. D. 1514, the 5th year of his reign.

In a MS. which I found in the Harleian Library (written in the reign of queen Elizabeth) is contained the names of the officers of honor and other mean officers, appertayninge to an armye royall, nominated and appointed men, necessary for the invasions of a forraine realme.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. insig.
847.

The queenes majestie beinge determined to make warre withe anie other prince, by the advice of her graces most honorable counsaile, dothe name and assign, the officers of honor, to such charge appertaininge as folowethe:

First the *lord generall* of the *armye*, unto whom the whole charge is committed, and to his assistance, two *lordes leyvetenants* (*lieutenants*) of the *fore* and *rere wardes*, who have in their charge like as the *generall* hath in the *bat-taile*; savinge alwayes and in all services, they be at the commaundement of the *lord general*, and they have in every of their charges one *leyvetenaut*.

There are also apperteyninge to the *lord leyvetenants* and *armye*; one *knight mareshall*, and a *provost marishall*; the *treasurer*, and the *under treasurer*; the *general of the horsemen*, and hys *lyvetenaut*; a *standard bearer* with certayne *trumpettes*; the *maister* of the *ordinaunce*, and hys *lyvetenaut*, with certeyne *clerkes* in wages; the *scowte maister*, the *barbinger*, the *general of the forlorne hope*; the *serjaunte major*, and some *corporalls* undir him; the *muster master*, the *surveyor of the victuals*; the *surveyor of the workes*; the *master* of the *cariages*, *serjauntes*, *clerkes*, *corporalls* and *trumpetts*, &c.—and this seems to be the muster of all the officers in the army at that time, as the list is given in a book of instructions, to each particular officer, pointing out the whole extent of his duty and power of his office.—It will be well worth the trouble of examination, to any military gentleman, who may be desirous of comparing the discipline of the army at the above period, with what is at present commonly practised.

Method of Encampment.

In the valuable book above quoted (preserved in the Cotton Library) is the plan of king Henry the Eighth's camp, pitched during his wars in France, and under the delineation is the original direction for the form and order of it for the better understanding what follows, the plan as in the above book, is copied, plate 10, of this vol. and the directions run thus word for word:

Augustus 3.
MS. Bib.
Cotton.

The mening of the plat, (*or plan*) ys fyrst that no manys tent, shal be sett within 200 foote of the kynges tentes, that is to saye, the uttermost parte of the cordds, shall not come nere the uttermost parte of the cordds of the Kinges tenttes; both for ayer, and to have space about yt.

Item, that the fowre quarters be so appoynted, that the kinges ground, and tentts, may be in the mydds, and to be bytwene corddes and corddes, of every quarter, a hundred fote brode, so that every such space bytwene the quarters, may come ryght to the grownde of the kynges tentte, according as it is drawn in the plat:—also yf the kynges highness will have the market place, that then the way through the markett place to be made as yt is in the platt; and the same markett place to be in the mydds, two hundred fote square, with fowre quarters, and betweene every quarter, a lane 50 fote, betweene corddes.

corddes and corddes; and the said lanes to come every one to the myddes of the grownde, of the market place.

Item, for the good orderynge of the said tenttes, accordyng to the platt; there must be two as *Marshalls*, and they to appoynte the grownde, wher the faide tenttes shall stand; to chose the grounde as nere as they can, to be upon drye grounde, and specyally the place where the kynges highnes tenttes shall stande; and also to see that there may be goode water as nigh as can be.

Item, these *Marshalls* shall apoynte, fyrst the grownde for the kynges tenttes, and for the space about them, according to the platt; which grownde, the faide *Marshalls* shal delyver unto suche as shall be appoynted to receyve the same; and they to see the kynges tenttes to be sett in order, and appoynte the grounde for the same.

Item, that the said *Marshalls* shal also appoynte the grownde for the fowre quarters, accordyng to the platt, to such as shall be appoynted to receyve the same; and they to appoynte grownde, and place in there quarters, to every man, as they be appoynted, and after there degrees; and one *Marshall* to lye there, and to have yrons (*irons*) for punyshment of suche as shall offende.

Item, that they that shall lodge, and apoynte the quarters; have a bill of the names of them that are appoynted to have tenttes, in any of the faide quarters; which boke must be made by the kinges highness, or his counsell, and to be delyver'd to them that shall have the charge.

Item, yf the kynges highness plesure be to have a markett place, according to the platt; for the good ordyng of the same, first one *marshall* muste lye in the faide markett, in his tentte, and the clerk of the markett also, to see goode rule and order, and the said *marshall* must have withynne bothe yrons and stokys (*stocks*) for ponyshment of such as do offende; also there must be made a proclamation, suche as shalbe thought mete by the kynges highness, and hys counsell, for goodde order and quyetenes, and ponyshment for them that shall offende, contrary to the same, &c.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. infig.
847.

And in another MSS. (also quoted above) written in the reign of queen Elizabeth, is the following article.

The order how a Camp ought to be pytched, videlicet.

Firste of all, after that the high *marshall* hath appointed the ground, bothe mete and convenient for the campe; having both woode, and water, and forrage sufficient for the armye; then must the *provost marshall* devide the grounde, into six severall quarters;—i. e. 3 for the footmen, and 3 for the horsemen, and betwixt the quarters, he must appoynte a strete, whych must be 80 foot broade at the least; then must he also appoint a large place of assemblie, and a market place, where he muste place the rere-warde on the left hand of the place of assemblie, and the battaile in ye nether part of the sayde assemblie, reserving the street into it betweene the two battailes; and to place the rereward upon the right hand of the same place of assemblie, reserving also another roome, for another streete, to goe bettwene the rereward and the battaile, and that all the tent doors do open into the said place of assemblie; also the place of

of the generals tentte, is in the quarter of the battaile, directly in the myddest of the said battaile, and the door of his tent must open into the place of assemblie, a little before the other tentes; and in the same quarter, must he appointe the *marshalls* tente, on the right hand of the *treasurers*, or the left hand of the said generals tent.—Also he must appointe the ordinaunce, before the place of assemblie, within the ringe of the said campe, and cariages to impale the same, as muche as is needful: for in this campe, the horse campe is not environ'd with carriages; for that it hath both woode, and a greate river runeing by it, for the guard thereof, that it needeth no impalement.—The horse campe is also divided into 3 quarters; first the horsemen of the warward, are appointed in the quarter of the warward; the horse and the horsemen of the battaile, directly under the battaile; and like wyse the horsemen of the rereward, under the rereward: There must also be appointed within the market place of the campe, a place for the munition of ordinaunce, that must be trench'd aboute; and a place for the Mr of the ordinaunce, with the office of ordinaunce, near unto the artillorie, on the righte hande; and the victuelles on the left hande: and for the order of setting of watches, both of fotemen, and horsemen, schall be declared; also comandement must be given, that no man pitche anye tent, neare the ringe of the campe, by seven score foote at the least.

Soldiers, Arms, &c.

The archers and the henchmen (or men with axes) were, in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, constantly intermixed with the gunners, or rather musketeers, (Holinghead indeed, and some of the old chroniclers, call them *harquebussers*) and pikemen; but during the reign of queen Elizabeth, they do not seem to have made any very considerable figure, and in the days of James the First, we hear no more of them: but the pike-men were continued down till of late days; and the pikes then used form, at this present period, a considerable part of the small armory exhibited in the Tower of London, which must have fallen under the notice of almost every one.

The musketeers, even in the time of Henry the Seventh, and more particularly in the reign of his son, made a considerable part of the army; and during the rule of James the First, they with the pike-men formed the whole: for muskets were then used by the horse, as well as the foot soldiers:—so that, from this time, the English archery were no longer had in use, at which a judicious author, then living, expresse his great concern.

In the second plate of this volume, N^o. 3, is exhibited a figure with a handgun, or musket, on his shoulder, as in use in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The priming is laid in the hollow at the side of the lock, exposed uncovered to the weather, which, if damp and rainy, must of course prevent the operation of the gun, and render it useles. And the author above-mentioned, *John Bingham*, bears witness, that even in the more improved state of the musket, as in the reign of James the First, it was subject to the same inconvenience; for, says he, "in rain, snowe fogges, or when the enemy hath gayned the wind, muskets have but small use;" and he also in the same discourse declares, that long time was necessary for the charging: While, says he, "the musketier takes

John Bingham, in his note to *Ælians Tactics*.

Ibid. p. 26.

Ibid. p. 25.

takes down his musket, *uncocks* the matche, *blowes*, *proynes*, *shuttles*, *castes* of the pan, *castes* about the musket, *opens* his charges, *chargeth*, *drawes* out his skowring sticke, (*ramrod we should now call it*) *rammes* in the powder, *drawes* out againe, and *puts up* his skowring stick, *layes* the musket on the rest, *blowes* of the matche, *cocks* and *tryes* it, *gardes* the pan, and so *makes ready*. All which actions must necessarily be observed, if you will not faile of the true use of a musket."—What a number of operations, before it could be brought once to fire!—But before I proceed in this discourse, for the better explaining the *uncocking* the *match*, and laying the *musket* on the *rest*, it may not be impertinent here to observe, that the method of firing the gun was not with a flint and steel pan, as at present, but instead thereof a piece of lighted match, made for that purpose (which the soldier constantly had with him) was put into the lock, instead of the flint, which, when the trigger below was pulled, was forced by the spring of the lock into the pan, and communicated the fire to the prime, or powder laid therein: And the *rest* here mentioned, was a staff sharp at one end, with a curve at the top, which also was a part of the musketeer's equipage; the sharp end of this staff (when he was about to fire his piece) he thrust into the ground, and laid the musket on the rest or curve at top while he took his aim; for such was the weight of his musket, that without this help he could never have been able to have taken any aim at all.—But the inconvenience of all these methods must strike every one so much, that it will become a matter of surprize that the archers (who were formerly so justly famed for their skill and service) should so suddenly be put from the army, even before the gun, the only instrument that could be found to supply their deficiency, was brought to any perfection; and especially as the author (above quoted) has so manifestly pointed out the superiority of the long-bow to the musket, at that period.

All from
Augustus 3.

The military figures represented in the six first plates of this volume (the originals of which were made in the reign of Henry the Eighth) are evidently officers of distinction. Dr. Morton (to whose favour I owe the sight of the book from whence these figures are taken) with the greatest propriety imagines, that they may be delineated as portraits of some of the chief performers at those tournaments which were held at the meeting of Henry the Eighth and the French king, in the valley of Arden: and tho' no written account is now to be found in the book, yet, I dare say, any one who examines the figures, their armour, and situations, will immediately be of the same opinion; especially when he is told, that the former part of the book is filled with the marches and actions of the same king (Henry the Eighth) and his army, during his stay in France.—If it is admitted that these figures do really represent those gentlemen, who distinguished themselves at the tournaments at that time held, it may naturally follow that the tents (Plate 8 and 9) are the delineations of the tents then set up for the reception of the two kings and their lords; for they are contained in the same book, and are placed directly before the figures above-mentioned. If so, as appears very likely that Plate 8, N^o. 2. (which did undoubtedly belong to the king of England) is the pavillion of crimson and gold, mentioned by Hall; the other (Plate 9.) might be for the French king; and the third (Plate 8, N^o. 1.) strip'd or pain'd for the lords, knights, &c. that belonged to the tournaments: but as (I before remark'd) there is no writing in the book which
can

can tend to the better explanation of these curious delineations, all this (which is indeed a very reasonable conjecture) must be left to the further judgment of the learned antiquaries.—Plate 16, of this vol. N^o. 1, is prince Henry, the eldest son of James the First, in his tilting habit, worn when they exercised the pike on foot. Fig. 2, of the same plate, exhibits a nobleman also so armed; in the same manner is prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First) represented, Fig. 3, and Fig. 2.—Plate 17, is a man in the compleat armour as worn in the reign of Charles the First, and the figure beside him (N^o. 1.) is the habit of the soldier, when out of his armour, in his buff or leather jacket.

The buff jerken, or jacket, is often alluded to in several of the old Plays, where a soldier is introduced: as in Decker's Play, of the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet, Affinus says of capt. Tucca (after he is gone) "My stomach rises at this scurvy leather captain." And in the same Play, Tucca himself says to Minever, "Do not scorn me because I go in stag,—in buff." Untrussing
the Humor-
ous Poet.
By Decker.
Comedy.

The arms of the horse soldiers, as in use at the latter end of the reign of James the First, may be seen, Plate 21.—Fig. 1 and 2, represent the helmet; 3 the fore part of the compleat armour, and 4 the back part of the same; 5 and 6 are right and left gautlets; 9 is the vam brace, and 10 the cuisse, or thigh armour; 11 is the separate armour for the back from the fourth figure, shewing how it buckles to the breast armour, fig. 12, under the vambrace; underneath fig. 11 is the *guard due reine*, which fastens on to the back armour with a staple and hook, and buckles to the cuisse, fig. 10.—Fig. 7 and 8, are the muskets as used by the horse musketeers.

The armour of the pike-men, at the same period, may be seen upon the same plate. D represents the whole armour compleat, with the helm: A is the breast, or fore part, with the tassels or thigh-guards taken off, to shew how they are fastened, with two hooks on each, and two small staples in the breast: B is the gorget, or throat-guard: E is the back of the armour: C is the helm, or head-piece; and F is the long pike.

The arms of the foot musketeer, are only, fig. I. the helm; II. the rest for the musket, sharp at one end, to stick into the ground; III. the musket; and IV. the bandelier, or belt, with his charges: and these arms continued (with very little alterations) almost till the reign of king William the Third, when they were but little used; but every soldier was provided with a breast-plate; which even now, in my humble opinion, would be oft times found extremely serviceable, if made of a proper size and thickness.*

C 2

The

* In the Royal Library, I met with a MS. written in the reign of Henry the Eighth (mark'd 7 C 16) wherein, amongst various other accounts, I found the following.

Bought for the Kinges Grace

first I bought at Coulleynne by John Palme, of Thomas Mac for 1200 men, Harneys all compleyte at 2 florins the piece, 15 Batz for every florin, cometh to 2400 florins

Item Bought in Handwarpe of fraunsoys Meer, for 26 men great complayt Harneys at 16 . 8 Spanyshe

the pece, amounteth to 21 . 13 . 4

Merry Wives
of Windsor,
act 2. sc. 2.

The name of soldier, in all ages, amongst our ancestors, was held in great veneration, as it justly ought; for the man who boldly ventures his life for his country's good, is of all others the most her friend.—Amongst the various appellations given to valiant men, the obsolete term of "*Tall man*" may seem the strangest.—We meet with many instances of this in the old Plays: Thus Falstaff says to Pistol, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, "I am damn'd in Hell for swearing to gentlemen, my friends, that you (*Pistol* and *Nim*) were good soldiers, and tall fellows." Thus also in Johnson's "*Every Man out of his Humour*," Shift, when detected in his cowardice, says, "I never robb'd any man—but only said so, because I would get myself a name, and be counted a tall (that is a valiant) man:" with many other instances.

The reader will, I hope, excuse my taking him back to the reign of king Henry the Sixth, to examine that curious figure of a knight of that age, represented leaning on his glaive in compleat armour, in plate 29.—And plate 28, which contains a curious representation of a battle. The original of this last delineation was made in the reign of king Richard the Second.

And now, with the following description of the Martial Exercises of a Prince, I shall take my leave of this article.

These verses are selected from a much esteemed tragedy, called *Gorboduc*, written in the reign of queen Elizabeth:

Ah, noble prince, how oft have I beheld
The mounted on thy fierce and trampling steede,
Shining in armour bright before the tilte,
And with thy mistress' sleeve ty'd on thy helme,
There charge thy staffe, to please thy ladies eye,
That bow'd the headpiece of thy friendly foe?
How oft in armes on horse to bend the mace?
How oft in armes on foote to breake the sword? &c.

The next article that should here follow is, The Religious Buildings; but on this head, the objections made in the second volume may for the same reasons be again (with the greatest propriety) made in the present. Also the Domestic Buildings, in the preceding accounts, are brought down to the memory of man; that is, to the strange uncouth houses chiefly of lath and plaister, ornamented with figures, flowers, trees, &c. in the front: a curious specimen of this kind of edifice I myself remember formerly to have stood at the East corner of Smithfield: these plaister images, with strange carved wooden ornaments, of frightful, and sometimes beastly figures, were what were constantly in use, and that so lately, that there is scarce a town in England of any note which does not still contain some remaining specimens.—Pass we therefore on to the:

GOVERNMENT.

By way of addition to the Norman government, I beg leave to add the following; partly collected from the ingenious Sir Henry Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire. p. 7. Hertfordshire.

The

The Norman William, after the conquest of the realm, began to dispose of the dignities of the land, in such sort, to his followers and favourites, that scarce any Englishman was suffered to hold any state of honour. And the better to secure his power, he exacted an oath of fealty of every one of his favourites to whom he had given tenures under him: and the oath was in such sort, that it obliged every possessor of land to serve him in his wars, to the establishment of his power, with horse and arms, according to the value of their fees: and if they failed in such services, they thereby forfeited their estates.—At the same time promising them, that they should have nothing taken or exacted of them but their free service, which they were bound to perform.

Selden Tit.
Hon. 636.

Vid. Leges
Guliel. I.
cap. 52.

Ibid. c. 58.

These tenants, if they were knighted, were called *Milites*, but if not, *Liberi Homines*, or free men; and all those that were tenants in military service, were at that time accounted Great Free Men, and their service stiled free service; for such men were accounted lawful, and sufficient to choose juries, and serve upon juries themselves.

Ibid.

Ibid. c. 59.

And they were obliged to defend the government with all their might, to keep the peace and dignity of the crown:—for by their service they must not only aid the king with horse and arms at home, but also accompany him in any foreign expedition; and moreover to attend the king in his great council, whenever he might require it:—also in their own courts and jurisdictions, where they were lords, as well as in the county and hundred court, to judge with equity and execute justice.

Hist. Hert-
ford. pag. 7
and 8.

The Norman customs were then introduced into this country, and the courts were held after the fashion of those in Normandy; and (as has been observ'd before) the laws were in the Norman tongue; and the judges were Normans of course: the monks and priests (says Sir Hen. Chauncy) were the counters, and pleaders, that managed the trials for the people in those courts.

Vide vol. 2
of this work,
pag. 7.

The next step he took, was to enquire diligently into every county, hundred, rape, lath, and wapentake; what every person held in demesne lands, what in plough'd fields, meadows, feeding woods, fishings, mills, commons, and rents; what men, and in what condition, knights, husbandmen and bond-men, and workmen, were in every borough, town, manor, vil, or hamlet; what castle they had, and to whom they belonged; and what rents and services every person paid and performed; which were set down in a large book made for that purpose, since called *Domes-day Book*.

This was the first establishment of the tenure, by military service, among the Anglo-Normans; and at this time such tenures were, at the will of the lord, or donor, to be taken away from the feudatory, at his (the lord's) pleasure; but afterwards they were granted for a year, then for life, till at last they became successive to the son; or, if there were more than one son, the lord would give the fee to which he pleased, and sometimes would equally divide it between them, after the manner of *gavelkind*:—yet at length by degrees it became hereditary, and passed also to the daughters; but even then they remained under conditions of fidelity, fealty, or faithfulness to the lord, and military service when he commanded; and they were always subject to forfeiture upon breach of trust, as felony, or defect of service; for in such cases

Hist. Hertf.
p. 9 and 10.

Spel. Gloss.
fol. 365.

Brad. Gloss.
fol. 39, 40.

Hottom. in
verbo Rele-
viv.

the

Brad. Gloss. fol. 40. the land reverted to the lord :—and in case of an infant, or woman, who were not fit to do military service, their estates were in ward to the lord, therefore they were called his wards, and he provided for the service until the male infant came of age, and was made fit for the service he ought to perform, or the woman by his consent had taken such a husband, of whose fidelity he was assured, and by whom she might perform the service which the fee required; and this was the reason why the lord had the wardship of the heir within age, at the death of his ancestor :—but if the heirs were of age, they paid reliefs, which in the Feudal law were called *relevia*, *releviamenta*, *relevationes*, because he took up again the fees or lands which were fallen by the death of the feudatory. Sometimes they were called *introitus* or *ingressus*, and were at first but honorary gifts.

Not all men were allow'd to give or accept fees, for those of base condition were not permitted to perform military service; but it was confined to the nobles, and gentlemen, who, by their education, ought to be used to arms, and more learned, to judge of such causes of law, in the courts, as might come before them, than the rustics and commoners.

Hist. Hertf. pag. 10. By this means the nobility had the whole power and government, under the king, in themselves, and kept the lower class of people in subjection. By which also the kings of England could not impose any tax, tallage, or subsidy, upon the estates of any gentleman or their tenants, without their consent in common, or their representatives in the great councils, or parliaments.

Spel. Gloss. fol. 513. At that time were three classes of people, distinguish'd by these Feudal tenures; 1. Military men; 2. Socmen; and 3. Labourers.

Brad. Hist. of England, fol. 211. The military tenants, or such as held by knight's service, were such as by their tenure were obliged to serve the king, or their lord, in his wars, when he should need them, at their own proper cost and charge.

There were several sorts of these military fees; as where the king created a man an earl, and granted him lands to the amount of 400*l.* *per annum*, to be holden of him by military service: this was a tenure in *capite*, because it was immediately holden of the king himself. Persons of this dignity usually added *comes* to their Christian name; and in the reign of Richard the First, they took also the name of their shire or county.—Every such earl at the age of 21 years, his ancestor being dead, was bound by his fee to pay to the king, for a relief, eight saddle-horses furnished with bridles, four coats of mail, as many helmets, and as many shields, spears, and swords; as also other hunting horses and palfreys, with bridles and halters: but *anno* 9 Henry III. this relief was ascertained at the fourth part of the earl's estate, which consisted of twenty knights fees.

Those great persons in William's days, who held immediately of him in *capite*, were called in Domes-day Book, *barons*, or *magnates*.

Selden Tit. Hon. fo. 627. A *vivafor* was only a tenant by knight's service, who did not hold immediately of the king in *capite*, but of some mesne lord, which excluded him from the dignity of a baron, by tenure :—He paid for his relief, two coats of mail, a shield, a spear, and a sword, or in lieu of them 100 shillings.

Lambarde's Peramb. of Kent. Spelman's Gloss. A *thane* held land of the king to the quantity of five hides at least, by service of personal attendance :—He paid for his relief, all his arms, one horse with a saddle, and another without; he also presented his dogs and hawks to the king, who, if he pleased, might take them. The

The knight, by his tenure, was obliged to serve the king on horseback in his wars, and maintain a soldier at his own proper charge, when the king required it: at this time a knight's fee consisted of land, &c. to the amount of 20*l.* a year, which was then thought sufficient to support the dignity of his estate:—His relief, in the 9th year of Hen. III. was 5*l.*

Edward the Second, in the first year of his reign, obliged every one who held an estate to the amount of 20*l. per ann.* to be knighted, paying his relief.

The esquires were such as held land by the service of the shield, and were bound by their fee to attend the king, or their lords, in the wars, or pay escuage. They were anciently called *servientes*, because they used to attend some lord, or knight, in the wars; sometimes *scutiferi*, because they did bear a shield; and oftentimes *armigeri*, because they might wear a coat of mail.

In the Harleian library is a MS. containing various tracts, part written in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and some part of still later date; amongst the rest I found the following—

MS. in Bib.
Harl. mark'd
1776.

The Defynition of an Esquire, and the severall sortes of them, according to the Customes and Usage of England.

An esquier, called in lattyn *armiger, scutifer, et bone ad arma*, is he that in tyme past was an attendant of the knight, the bearer of his scheilde and helme, the faithful companion, and servante to him, in the warres service, on horsebacke;—whereof every knight hath two at the least, attendant on him, in respect of his fee; for they held lands of the knights by *scutage*, as the knight held his of the kynge by *knights service*. At this day that vocation is growen to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service of the warres; from whence all other degrees of nobility are borrowed.

The first sorte of them, and the most antient, are the eldest sonnes of knightes, and the eldest sonnes of them, successively, for ever.

The seconde sorte are the elder sons, of the seconde house of barons, and noble men of higher degree; which taken and are determined when the chief masters do faile of such elder sons, and that the inheritance goeth awaie with the heires female.*

The third sorte, are those that by the kinge are created esquires, by the guifte of the collar of SS; and such bearing armes of antiquitie, are the principle and chief of that coate armoure, and of their whole race; out of whose families, although diverse other houses doe springe, and yssue, yet the eldest of that coat armoure only is an esquier, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fowerth, and last sorte of esquiers, are such as bearing office in the common wealth, or in the kings house, and are therefore called and reputyde to be esquiers; as the sargeantes at the lawe, the escheatores of every shire, and in the kinges house; the herauld of armes; the sargeantes at armes; and the
sergeante

* The sense here seems a little obscure; perhaps *chief masters* may mean the chief of the first house of barons.

sergeante of every office, who have the collars of SS. given them; but having no armes, that degree dieth with them, and their yssue is not inobled thereby.

Signed R. Glover, Somersett.

Gentlemen, a title borrowed from the French, to distinguish the free men from the vulgar and common people: these held of the mesne lords, small parcels of land by military service; those who had as much as amounted to 40s. a year, paid escuage and sent men well furnished to the wars, and those whose estate would not afford them to send substitutes, attended personally themselves.

Hist. Hertf.
pag. 11.

The next class of people were the *Socmen*, so called because they held their lands of their lords by *socagium*, or service of the plough;—these are the *yeomen* and there is made three distinctions amongst them; 1, *socmen* in ancient demesne; 2, *socmen* by free service; 3, *socmen* by base service.

Spel. Gloss.
ver. Socman

The first was properly a tenant who was free and held land of the king in *socage*; which in the days of Edward the Confessor and the Conqueror, were kept for the maintenance and provision of their tables and families: they were by virtue of this privilege, free from payment of toll and passage, and all impositions for goods or chattles, sold or bought at fairs or markets, and of wages to knights in parliament, or from serving upon juries or inquests in the county, out of their own jurisdiction: neither could any turn them out of their possessions, while they were able to perform the services which belonged to their lands or tenements, nor augment their services; for that these *socmen* were tillers of the lands of their lords in ancient demesne.

Ibid. 518.

Secondly, *Socmen* by free service, were tenants who held lands of the chief lords, by certain rent in money, in regard of some tillage, &c.—Every such *socman* in ancient time, held a plough-land of his lord in free *socage*, which was then reputed worth 5 nobles *per annum*; and was thought a sufficient estate to maintain a *ploughman* or *yeoman*: they in those days could not give or sell their land without the consent of their lord; neither could they alienate certain services, the first born was to succeed to the whole: neither could they sell their male cattle, or marry their daughter without paying to their lord the sum of 3s. and 4d. however, they might make their son a clerk.

Ibid. 519.

Thirdly, *Socmen* by base services, were tenants who held not by certain service, therefore were not free *socmen*, for their lords might impose what service they pleased upon them: and tho' divers freemen might hold lands by bare services, yet this did not render them ignoble, for it was the person, not the service, that did qualify the tenant: but all fees belonged only to gentlemen; for farmes which were granted to rustic and ignoble men, were not accounted fees by Feudal law.

The *military tenants* and *socmen* had their *labourers* and *dependants*, as *bordars*, *cotars*, *villains*, *servants* and *rustics*, which composed the third class of people.—*Bordar*, from the French word *borde*, a cottager, or farmer who hath a cottage; these were bound to perform the bare services of their lord, and

and could neither sell, mortgage, or give, without his consent; for these there was no homage.

Cotar, so named from *cote* a Saxon word, signifying a mean hovel, was a poor man who had his *borde* or cottage; he was taxed at the will of his lord, and was subject to all his commands; he had nothing of his own, nor could he purchase but for his lord's benefit. Brad. Pref. to Hist. of Eng. 157.

A *villain* was not taken for a bondman in *Domes-day book*, but a person of base or servile condition; and took his name *de villis*, because he had a farm, and did the works of husbandry for his lord. These were so fix'd to their farms, that they were bought and sold, and were wont to pass by the grants of the manors of farms to which they belonged, as servants passed in merchandize: but the lord had no right to the goods of his *villain*; for if at any time he took more than his due, he took it wrongfully as a robber: yet if the lord wrong'd the *villain*, he had no judge but God to relieve him. Du Fresne, vol. 3, fol. 133.

A *servant*, or rather a slave, was of two sorts, *predial* or *personal*.—*Predial servants* possessed their lands or goods at the will of their lords, performing such servile works as they were required. *Personal servants* had nothing of their own, but what they gained was their lord's, who fed and kept them. Brad. Hist. of England, fol. 206.

Rusticks were labourers who did break open or dig the land or ground, and were so fix'd to it, that by grant of the land the *rusticks* passed with it. The sons of the *rusticks* might not be taken away from such estates, without the consent of the lord on whose land they were known to be born. Du Fresne, tom. 3.

But any of these might obtain their freedom from their lords several ways —
1. By his favour, as if he will release them, or if he give or sell them to another to be released. 2. They might be made free by knighthood. 3. If a bondman that lived quietly a year and a day in any privileged town, and was made a member of the common guild, as a common-councilman; for the magistrates and chief citizens were properly the guild, or corporation, and they only managed the affairs of the corporation. 4. By exchange, as when base and servile services were turn'd into rent, which was paid *pro omni servitio*; for if the lord had no service to command him, but payment of rent, he was free.

In the very early times, the common and servile people passed only under two names of distinction, *bond* or *customary tenants*, and the *cottager*; for they who held by *military* service, and *socage* tenure, were comprehended under the general names of *freeholders*; and these were they who by their voices were to appoint the knights of the shire, &c. But at length they so increased, by the division of the fees, and many of them were of the low and ignorant class of people; yet, by their freehold, or tenure, they also claimed a voice equal to the *knights* and *squires* of the county, when it was ordained that the knights of the shire should be chosen by people resident in the county, who had lands or tenements to the yearly value of forty shillings, besides reprises; and that the sheriff might examine every elector, upon oath, how much he might expend by the year. This sum of 40s. *per annum*, had respect to those military men who paid *escuage*, or *scutage*; and of these, the *tenants in capite* paid it first for themselves and their tenants, and then the king granted a writ to levy of their *tenants in military service* so many fees as they held of them; but when *tenants in vilenage*, *tenants by copy of court rolls*, *tenants for years*, Stat. 8. H. 6. cap. 7.

and all sorts of people residing in the county, having lands or tenements of the yearly value of 40s. pretended a right to have voices at all such elections, by reason that such elections were not restrained to *military* and *socage tenants* by the last statute, an explanatory law was immediately made, that every elector should have freehold to the value of 40s. by the year, above all charges and reprises, in the same county. This 40s. says Sir Hen. Chauncy as at that period, is worth 6*l.* now, in silver, which then was only 20*d.* the ounce, and reckoning it at present at 5*s.* 3*d.* if it is valued at the rate of servants wages, or the prices of goods, stock or victuals in those days, the price is more than ten times the value: but if you will estimate the value of the money by the rent of the land, those lands which yielded then 40s. would now let at 100*l.* *per annum*. In the parliament an. 9, H. 3. it was declared that 20*l.* *per annum* was a sufficient estate to maintain the state and dignity of a knight; whereas our modern parliaments, in all their post-bills, have valued a knight's estate at 1000*l.* *per annum*; and at this proportion, 20*l.* then, answers to 1000*l.* at this day.

From that time it hath continued to the present period, that all who have 40s. freehold in the county, clear of all reprizals, are reputed legal voters, having an unquestionable right to give their voice at all elections of the knights of the shire.

Ex. MS. in
Bib. Harl.
980.

Our ancestors had only two kinds of tenures, *boke-land* and *folk-land*; the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was freehold, and by charter, hereditary with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the common people: the inheritance descended not alone, but after the ancient German manner, equally divided amongst all the children, which they called *Landskiftan*, or *part lande*; a custom yet continued (says my author) in some places in Kent, by name of *Gavel-kin*, or *Gif-eal-kind*, &c.

See
Lambarde's
Peramb. of
Kent.

Royal Processions, Public Entries and Shows, &c.

In the first and second volumes of this work, we have seen various royal processions and grand entries publicly made, by several of our kings, as well into the city of London, as other cities of the realm; nor shall we find that, in this latter æra, the English have been in the least behind-hand with their ancestors, in their pageantry and shews of grandeur.

The whole life of Henry the Eighth (especially during the time which that pompous prelate, Cardinal Wolsey, was in favour) abounded with processions, and princely shows of grandeur and magnificence.—But all that ever went before, was far out-done in the stately and superb meeting of our king, Henry the Eighth, and Francis the First, king of France, in the valley of Arden, the 7th day of June, 1520. The vast profusion of expence, to support the unbounded pomp which was at this time display'd, is almost incredible; the astonishing richness of the dresses, not only of the Kings themselves, or the great

great lords, but indeed of all their attendants, was such, that it was stiled *Le camp de drap d'or*, or cloth of gold. Wolsey, who himself had the chief management of the scene, came also in all his splendour to this meeting; of whose pride and state the old chronicles have given many instances. Hall, the faithful historian of that time, has set down in his history a most exact and circumstantial account, not only of the meeting itself, but also of the preparations made, and the stately pavillions then built, as well as of the tournaments, which, with the feasting and grand entertainments, continued several days. Montfaucon, in his *Monarchie Francois*, has given certain prints of this famous meeting, done (as he informs us) from a bas relief at Rouen, in Normandy; the which prints Dr. Ducarel has copied in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*:—But the society of Antiquaries have lately published a print (of a large size) which is a beautiful representation of the same meeting, from the celebrated picture at Windsor Castle; of the which Sir Joseph Ayloff has given a full and copious account:—To the which works the curious reader is referr'd.

See Holingshead, Stow, & Grafton, temp. H. 8.

Hall. in vit. Hen. 8.

Montfaucon Reg. & Eccl. Antiquities of France.

Anglo Norman Antiq.

But, before I pass from this famous meeting, I would wish the reader to cast his eye to the plates, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The figures which he will see there represented, are supposed to be of the noble gentlemen who distinguished themselves (on the English party) in the tournaments there perform'd: the reasons for this supposition have already been set forth in page 10, therefore they need not be again repeated here. The tent, plate 8, N^o. 2, which undoubtedly belonged to the king of England, may with the greatest reason be supposed to have been there erected; for in magnificence and elegance (the taste of that time considered) it answers well with the description of the rest of the meeting: it is much larger in the original book, and made of a rich crimson, embroidered and wrought with ornaments of gold, and all round, at the bottom of the roof, is a rich fringe of gold, and crimson silk; above the fringe is a narrow compartment like a moulding, which runs all round the tent, in which is written in letters of gold, DEV: ET: MON: DROET:—SEMPER: VIVAT: IN: AETERNO.—and on the top is a running ornament, carved and richly gilt, with the lion, the hart, the greyhound, and dragon, alternately holding little banners, with the crown and the fleur de lys at the tops: on these little banners are the arms of England, roses, and the portcullis.—Every one, upon the sight of this rich tent, will readily conclude it must have been made for more than the common purpose of setting up, during the wars, for the king to lodge in: and if not for that purpose, it follows that it must have been for some more particular occasion; and the which none other, so proper as the present, can (I believe) be imagined. Then it may follow, that the other grand tent (plate 9.) was for the French king, which, in the book, is a deep blue, with rich gold embroidered flowers, fringed also below the roof with blue and gold threads; the top is ornamented with rich carving of fleurs de lys, &c. highly gilt; and at the corners are pedestals, with irons sticking up, on which most probably were figures, in the manner of those on king Henry the Eighth's tent;—but they are not here represented. The third tent (plate 8, N^o. 1.) is pain'd, green and white, fringed with the same colours, with a gilt ornament at the top; here also at the corners are the

MS. in Bib. Cott. infig. Augustus 3.

pedestals or stands, with the irons for the figures to be set upon. This tent, which is not by any means to compare with either of the former in grandeur or elegance, might, I suppose, be erected for the attendants on the great lords, or for the reception of those who performed in the tournaments.

This print
was engrav-
ed an. 1742.

The industrious Geo. Vertue has given to the world the royal procession of queen Elizabeth, in her chair, carried by six men, and attended by many of the nobles and grandees of the realm, as she went on a visit to the right honourable Henry Cary lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick upon Tweed, who was cousin german to her majesty, by the lady Mary, sister to queen Anna Bolen.

Decker's
magnificent
entertain-
ment given
to K. Ja. I.
Stow's Ann.
pag. 836.

Printed accounts, with delineations engraved, have also been published, of the magnificent procession, through London, of king James the First, the 15th of March, 1603; and of the triumphal arches (which were seven) through which he passed, accompanied by a great number of his nobility. The various verses then repeated, and the pageants exhibited, were exceeding grand and elegant, according to the taste of the times, at that period.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton. in
fig. Nero,
C. 9.

Several other processions, of later date, might be mentioned; but as they were not so magnificent as the foregoing, and the accounts of them are so very easy to come at, I shall pass them over, and add to this article the following quotation from an old MS. in the Cotton library, written in the reign of king Henry the Sixth.

The Ordynaunce of a Kynge, when he shall goo in hys Processione.

It is to be remembred, that what tyme the kynge shall kepe his astate crowned; or ellys in habite ryall, that day that he shall goo on procession,—The *swerd* shall be (*coried*) next to the kynge, and next before the swerde the kynges cote of armes, and all the prynces cotes, and other cotes, shall be departed and goo in their estates, and degrees; the oon (*one*) half on the right side of the processione, and the other half on the lyft side thereof;—and there shall no manne goo betweene Goddis vicare, that teith (*sait*) the masse that day, and the kynges highness;—The grete constable of England shall go on the right hand of the swerde, berynge a staff of woode in hys right hande, the end of the staff upward, at which ende *must be* the kinges armes, - at the nether end his owne armes;—The marshall of England on the lyft hande, *over* ageynst the constable, he shall bere in hys right hande a staff, sylver and gylt, the ende vpward, at the upper ende *of this staff also* the kinges armes, at the nether ende hys owne;—The cappe of estate *bifore*;—on the right hande of the cappe, the grete styward of Englande; on the lyft hande, the kynges chamberleyn, —byfore them the styward of the housholde on the right hand;—The tresorer (*treasurer*) of the housholde, on the lyft hande; and all such officers as wearen furcotes by their office, aught to goo before the kynge;—Betwene them the sergeaunt porter, that he may take hede of the sergeauntes of armes, and also to attende upon the prynce, and upon his lordes, yf he have any comaundement to receyve any person, or persones, that he may do it; the sergeauntes of armes, owen (*ought*) to goo on every side of the processione, to make
100me

roome from before the cross,* to the lordes;—The usheres of the kynges chamber, owyn to goo on every syde of the kyng, to make room from the sword aboute kynges persone, and to have recourse to the nedyr (*nether*) ende of the trayne, to keepe the people from hym, and to wayte upon hys trayne;—The grete chamberleyn of Englande, ought to bere the kynges trayne, wether he be duke, or erle, or what estate he be of by hys office;—And all dukes, and erles, and other estates, to follow the kyng; every estate in their degrees.

Here, by the way of conclusion, I shall just say a word or two on the parade, or proceffion, at this day distinguished by the name of *The Lord Mayor's Show*. From the first institution, till the year 1454, this proceffion was constantly made on horseback, by land, to Westminster, where the lord mayor took the oath; but the said year 1454, Sir John Norman Draper being mayor, he caused a barge to be made at his own charge, and in that was rowed to Westminster, attended by most of the companies who had barges, in a superb manner. This alteration was so pleasant, and so profitable to the watermen, who ply'd with their boats at that time upon the Thames, that (says Stow) they made a song in praise of their new mayor, which begins in this manner, *"Row thy boat, Norman,"* &c.—From what we may collect amongst the ancient chroniclers, in former ages this proceffion was managed with much pomp and grandeur, as every company constantly attended, habited in their richest habits, with vast variety of banners, flags and streamers, on which were figured the arms of the companies; and the emblems of their several *crafts*, or trades: the houses also, in such streets as they pass'd through, were ornamented and hung out with rich cloths and arras; which was a great and special mark of elegance and finery, at that age.—What at present remains of this show, indeed, is scarcely fine enough, one would think, to afford the least satisfaction to any but children, or the mere mobility; for of late years, good order and good sense have been so much neglected, and such childish trumpery introduced, that this foolish parade is become perfectly contemptible and ridiculous. I speak now only of the land proceffion; that on the water certainly is infinitely superior, and when well managed (in a fine day) has a very pleasing effect.

Stow's Survey of London, p. 567.

Perhaps it might not be an unpleasant sight, when the lord mayor used to ride forth in proceffion, his mace with the officers before him, and guarded round with hench-men. To this one of the characters in the Witts seems to allude, where he says, "I will match my lord mayor's horse, make jockeys of his hench-boys, and run them through Cheapside."

The Witts. Comedy, by Sir William Davenant.

CORONATIONS.

* The cross was usually carried in proceffion before the prelates, on holidays and solemn occasions; with which always went certain attendants of the lower clergy, with lighted tapers, sprinkling the holy water, and oftentimes also singing of hymns and anthems.—See plate 64, vol. 1.

CORONATIONS.

In the second volume of this work, I have inserted a short history of coronations in general, and therein is contained some of the ceremonies used at the coronations of our own kings, as they are set down by the old historians. I have since thought, that an accurate description in full, of all the ancient ceremonies, with the prayers, &c. used at such coronations, might perhaps be acceptable to the world; I have therefore (to render my work as compleat as possible) here subjoined the form and manner, as taken from the great book called *Liber Regalis*, which is preserved in Westminster Abbey.—This curious MS. was written, as is supposed, for the particular instructions of the prelates who attended at the coronation of king Richard the Second and his queen. A still further account of this MS. is given in the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, page 174, and therein are also two engraved plates, 17 & 18, (accurate copies of two illuminated delineations preserv'd in this valuable MS.) which serve as head-pieces to the particular ceremonies, and represent, the one the coronation of the king, and the other the coronation of the queen.—As the whole of this noble book is in Latin, it is but justice that I acknowledge the following translation of the ceremonial part is collected from a MS. in the Harleian library,—which translation (or rather abridgment in English) might probably have been made towards the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, or thereabouts. The title annex'd is as follows: “A Collection out of the Booke, called *Liber Regalis*, remaining in the Treasury of the Church of Westminster.” This translation, which is executed with singular judgment, I have carefully compared with the original, and have given here, divested of the antiquated orthography; adding only some few things which the writer might have overlook'd. The prayers I have added, as they are, from the original; and these also I have examined with several other MSS. in the British Museum, particularly one in the Cotton library, of the same date with the *Liber Regalis* at least, if not somewhat older.

Lib. Regal.
in Arch. of
Westminst.
Abbey.

33

MS. in the
Harl. Libr.
mark'd 310.

MS. in Cot-
ton Library,
mark'd Ti-
berius, B.
VIII.

Here follows the order of crowning the kings and queens of England.

The day before the coronation, the king should come from the Tower of London to his palace at Westminster, through the midst of the city, mounted on a horse, handsomely habited,* and bare headed, in the sight of all the people.

The place where the king is to be crowned, is the Abbey church of Westminster, granted thereto by divers charters, to be *Locus institutionis et coronationis regiae, et repositorum regalium insignium in perpetuum*.

The time, if it may be with conveniency, either upon a Sunday, or on some solemn feast day.

The

* In cultu decentissimo equitabit—capite denudato.

The person that is to anoint, and to crown the king, is the lord archbishop of Canterbury: but if, through bodily indisposition or other cause, he cannot be present, in his own person, to perform the solemn ceremonies, his place must be supply'd by some other bishop then present, of the greatest promotion.*

Against the solemnity, a square stage † is to be set up close to the four high pillars between the choir and the altar, with rails about it: the stage is to be covered with tapestry, and the rails also to be covered with the same.

There must be two pair of stairs from the stage, one to the choir westward, and the other to the altar eastward; upon the stage are two thrones of state to be erected, the one for the king, and the other for the queen: the king's throne must be higher than the queen's.

On the south side of the altar, a chair is to be set for the king, and another not so high on the north side for the queen, with *fald stools* and cushions, for either of them to pray at.

In St. Edward's chapel a travers is to be set up, wherein the king disrobeth himself, after the coronation is done; where also a stool and cushions are prepared to pray at;—and a chair for the queen to repose herself, in the mean time are to be made ready.

The evening before the coronation, the king is to be put in mind, that he may give himself to contemplation and prayer, &c.

To the king is to be delivered his *tunica*, or vest of red silk, which is put on next over his shirt; to which *tunica* his majesty's shirt, and other wearing apparel, is to be fitted, because of the anointing.

There are to be delivered also these *regalia*,—by the abbot of Westminster, or the prior in the abbot's absence,—to those whom the king shall appoint:

For the KING.

The patena;
The scepter with the cross;
The long scepter;
The rod with the dove;
The spurs.

For the QUEEN.

The ivory rod with the dove;
The scepter;
The crown.

All the other *regalia*, with the *ampullula* ‡ (in one of which is contained the oil with which the king and queen are to be anointed, and in the other the holy ointment) must be laid ready upon the altar.

That the gowns, and other robes, which the king putteth on after the coronation, be laid ready in the travers in St. Edward's chapel.

The

* “Supplebit alius qui inter episcopos tunc presentes dignior reperitur,” &c.

† Præparetur pulpitum aliquantulum eminens inter magnum altare et chorum, &c.

‡ Et provideatur a sacrista qued *ampullula* tam de oleo, quam de chrismate, quarum una deaurata est, et in se continens sanctum chrisma; altera vero solum argentea et in se continens oleum sanctum, sint ad altare præparatæ, &c.

The heir of the lord Beauchamp of Bedford, *almoner* for the coronation day, is to have care that cloths * be spread upon the ground, from the palace to the stage in the church.

The abbot of Westminster (or some appointed monk of the same place) shall be constantly at the side of the king, to inform him concerning the ceremonies, &c. of the said coronation.†

The archbishop and bishops, &c. who are present within the church of Westminster, are to meet the king in procession at the palace.‡

The lord chancellor (if he be a bishop) shall carry the stone cup of St. Edward, § and the treasurer (if he also be a bishop) should bear the patena, || both in their pontificalibus:—but if neither of the two before-mentioned grandees should be bishops, the king is to assign two bishops, that may please him, to those offices.

Then two peers, dukes or earls, of the greatest estates of the realm, ¶ one bearing the scepter with the cross, the second having the scepter with the dove.

After them the three swords, borne by the earls of Chester,** of Huntingdon, and of Warwick.

Then a nobleman, appointed by the king, bearing his spurs.††

The king goeth next (under a canopy ‡‡ borne by the barons of the Cinque Ports, four of them at a staff) supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath.

After the king follow three peers, carrying, first the ivory rod, secondly the queen's scepter, thirdly the queen's crown.

Then

* Et faciet dominus N. de bello campo Bedefordiae, qui ab antiquo eleemosinarie regiae habet officium, pannum virgatum, sive burellum prostratum sub pedibus regis incedentis a palatio usque pulpitem antedictum.

† Abbate Westmonasterii vel alio ejusdem monasterii monacho, ut praescriptum est, ad hoc electo, qui semper lateri regis adhærendo praesens debet esse pro dicti regis informatione in hiis quæ dictae coronationis concernunt solemnitatem.

‡ The following curious note, which my translator has not observ'd, I have added entire from the original, as indeed almost all these notes are: I have added them where I thought the sense not fully express'd.—Die vero praefinito, quo novus rex consecrandus est, summo mane convenient praelati & nobiles regni in palatio regio apud Westmonasterium, tractaturi de novi regis consecratione et electione, et de legibus & consuetudinibus confirmandis firmiter statuendis. Hiis sub universorum concordia peractis, provideatur, quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit pannis sericis & inauratis decenter ornata, super quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine & reverentia elevetur, ipso tamen prius, ut moris est, balneato et induto mundissimis vestibus & caligis solum modo calceato — ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos episcopos, abbatem & conventum Westmonasterii in capis sericis cum textibus & thuribulis, et aliis, quæ processioni conveniunt.

§ Calice lapidei Sancti Edwardi.

|| — dictamque patenam honorifice eodem modo tenebit, quæ patena a subdiacono inter secreta missæ ante altare teneri solet.

¶ Duo duces sive comites regni excellentiores, & maxime, qui jure propinquitatis stirpi regiae proximios videntur pertinere, immediate subsequuntur; &c.

** Comes Cestriae — portabit gladium, qui vocatur curtana.

†† Unus de magnatibus, ad hoc per regem assignatus, portans calcarea magna & deaurata.

‡‡ Pannum de serico quadratum purpureum quatuor hastis de argentatis sustentatum cum quatuor campanellis argenteis & deauratis ultra regem, &c.

Then the queen under a canopy, borne likewise by the barons of the Cinque Ports, supported also by two bishops;—her crown and habit described in the book.*

The king and queen are received into the church with an anthem or hymn; they pass up the middle of the choir to the stage, and there repose themselves, either of them, in seats appointed for them,† but not in their thrones.

Then the archbishop goeth to the four sides of the stage, speaking to the people, enquiring of them, whether they were willing that he should anoint and consecrate the said prince: the king then standing up by his seat, turneth himself, as the archbishop speaketh to the people.

The people shew their consent and approbation, crying out unanimously, Let it be done! Let it be done!—Long live the king N! (naming the name of the prince aforesaid).

Then the choristers shall sing the following anthem:

Firmetur manus tua & exaltetur dextera tua, justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ—Misericordia & veritas præcedent faciem tuam. Alleluia!—Misericordias domini in æternum cantabo:—gloria patri & filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, &c. Amen.

Repetatur ant. Firmetur, &c.

While the anthem is singing, the archbishop goeth to the altar.

The king, with the two bishops attending, and the abbot of Westminster, goeth also to the altar; and the queen, likewise supported by two bishops, followeth the king, and they go to a place prepared for them before the altar.

The king offereth first a robe, and next a wedge of gold of a pound weight;‡ then kneeleth, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Deus humilium visitator, qui nos spiritus sancti illustratione consolaris, prætende super hunc famulum tuum N. gratiam tuam ut per eum tuum in nobis adesse sentiamus adventum.

A bishop then beginneth the sermon,§ which the king and queen hear by the altar: after the sermon, the archbishop asketh the king, whether he be pleased to take the oath which his predecessors usually took;||—the king, willing thereunto, goeth to the altar to take it.

The

* Dicta vero regina induta erit tunica & cyclade cum fimbria longa & defluenti: quæ quidem tunica & cyclas unius erunt coloris videlicet purpurei, et unius texturæ sine aliquo alio opere artificiali desuper intexto: capite nudato, laxatos circa humeros decenter habens erines: gestabitque circulum aureum gemmis ornatum, ut honestius crines capiti ejus constringantur.

† In sede sibi apta.

‡ Pallium unum & unam libram, auri.

§ Metropolitano interim in cathedra sua residente ante altare more episcopali. Coram ipso vero residebit princeps coronandus in cathedra decenti sibi præparata ex adverso.

|| Si leges & consuetudines ab antiquis justis & Deo devotis regibus plebi Anglorum concessas, cum sacramenti confirmatione eidem plebi concedere & servare voluerit, et præsertim leges, consuetudines & libertates, a glorioso rege Edwardo clero populoque concessas. Dicto autem principe se promittente omnia præmissa concessurum & servaturum tunc exponat ei metropol: de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo.—Servabis ecclesie Dei, cleroque & populo pacem ex integro & concordiam in Deo secundum vires tuas?

Respondēbit.—Servabo.

The archbishop asketh three first questions, and the king severally answereth them; then another bishop recordeth (or asketh) the last question; the king answereth to them all in the words as there set down, namely.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you graunte, and kepe, and by your oathe confirme to the pepul of Englande the lawes and customes to them graunted, by the kynges of Englande, youre lawful and religious predecesores; namely, the lawes, customes, and fraunchises graunted to the clergie, and to the pepul, by the gloriouse kyng Saynte Edward your predecesore; accordyng and conformable to the lawes of Gode, and professiōne of the Gospell, established in thys kyndome; and agreeing to the prerogatives of the kynges thereof, and the auncient customes of thys realme?

The kyng answereth; I graunt and promyse to keep them.

Then the archbishop shall declare unto the king, what the things are that he shall swear unto.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you keepe peece and agreement entirely, according to your power, both to Gode, the holie chirch, and the pepul?

The king answereth, I wyll kepe it.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you to the utmost of youre power, cause lawe, justice, and discretione, and truthe to be executed, in all your judgmentes?

The king answereth, I will.

ARCHBISHOP.

Metropol.—Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam & rectam justitiam & discretionem in misericordia & veritate secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit.—Faciām.

Metropol.—Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenendas, et promittis eas per te esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei roborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit.—Concedo & promitto.

Take the above in old French, as from a MS. in my own Possession.

Sire voilles vous grauntier & garder par votre selement confermer au poeple dangleterre droiturely lez loyes & custumes a eux grauntez par lez anrientz roys dangleterre custumez & fraunchilez grauntez a clergie & au poeple par le gloriouse roy Seint Edward selonc votre pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo lez garderay.

Sire gardez vous a dieu & a seinte esglise a clergie & a poeple pees & accorde en dieu entierment selonc votre pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo lez garderay.

Sire ferez vous faire en toutz voz juggementz D welc & droit justice & discretione en misericorde & veritee.

Le roy,—Jeo lez fairay.

Sire garuntz vous a tenir & accomplir & promouvoir vous a defendre le loiez & custumes droiturely lez quelz le comonalte de votre reaume aura esliuz & lez enforceez al honour de dieu selonc votre pover.

Le roy responderay, Jeo a les graunte & permittee.

ARCHBISHOP.

Sire, will you graunt, to holde and kepe the lawes, and ryghtful customes, which the commonaltye of your kingdome have to defende, and upholde them, to the honour of Gode; so much as in you lyeth?

The king answerth, I graunt, and promise so to doe.

Then one of the bishops, in an audible voice, shall read the following admonition:*

Domine rex a vobis perdonari petimus, ut unicuique de nobis & ecclesiis nobis commissis canonicum privilegium ac debitam legem atque iustitiam conservetis & defensionem exhibeat, sicut rex in suo regno debet unicuique episcopo, abbatibus & ecclesiis sibi commissis.

The king shall answer,

Animo libenti & devoto promitto vobis et perdono, quia unicuique de vobis & ecclesiis vobis commissis canonicum privilegium & debitam legem atque iustitiam servabo, et defensionem, quantum potuero ajuvante domino, exhibeo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo, abbatibus & ecclesiis sibi commissis per rectum exhibere debet.

These questions thus asked by the prelates, and answered by the king, he at the altar by oath confirms his promises.

Then the archbishop kneeling down, with an audible voice begins the hymn,

Veni creator spiritus!

and the choir sing it.

Then the king and the queen kneel down, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Te invocamus domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne deus; ut hunc famulum tuum N. quem tuæ divinæ dispensationis providentia in primordia plasmatum usque hunc presentem diem juvenili flore lætanti crescere concessisti, eum tuæ pietatis dono dictatum, plenumque gratia & veritate de die in diem coram deo & hominibus ad meliora semper proficere facias, ut summi regiminis solum gratiæ supernæ largitate gaudens suscipiat, et misericordiæ tuæ muro ab hostium adversitate undique munitus, plebem sibi commissam cum pace propitiationis & virtute victoriæ feliciter regere mereatur.

This prayer being finished, the Litany is sung;† and after that is ended followeth these prayers:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, creator omnium imperator angelorum, rex regnantium dominusque dominantium qui Abraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moyse et Josue populo prælati multiplicem victoriam tribuisti humilemque David puerum tuum regni fastigio sublimasti, et Salomonem sapientiæ pacisque inefabili munere ditasti; respice quæsumus ad preces humilitatis nostræ, & super hunc famulum tuum quem supplici devotione in regem consecramus ‡ benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dexteræ tuæ potentia semper & ubique circunda quatinus prædicti Abrahamæ fidelitate firmatus Moyse mansuetudine fretus, Josue fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exultatus, Salomonis sapientia decoratus tibi in omnibus placeat & pertramitem iusticiæ in offenso gradu semper incedat æcclesiamque tuam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriet ac doceat, muniat & instruat contraque omnes visibiles & invisibiles hostes

E 2

* Sequitur admonitio episcoporum ad regem; et legatur ab uno episcopo coram omnibus clarâ voce sic dicendo—Domine rex, &c.

† Infra Letaniam hæc adjungant.—Ut presentem famulum tuum in tua pietate, justitia et sanctitate confirmare & conservare digneris—Te rogamus, audi nos, &c.

‡ In regem eligimus, &c. in MS. Cottonianæ.

hostes eidem potenter regaliterque tuæ virtutis regimen administret, & ad veræ fidei pacisque concordiam eorum animos te opitulante reformet. ut horum populorum debita subjectione fultus, cum digno amore glorificatus, ad paternum decenter solium tua miseratione conscendere mereatur; tuæ quoque protectionis galea munitus, & scuto insuperabili iugiter protectus, armisque cœlestibus circumdatus, optabilis victoriæ triumphum sæliciter capiat terroremque suæ potentia infidelibus inferat, et pacem tibi militantibus lætanter reportet: per dominum nostrum, qui virtute crucis tartare destruxit, regnaque diaboli superato ad cœlos victor ascendit, in quo potestas omnis, regnum consistit & victoria, qui est gloria humilium, et vita, salusque populorum, qui tecum vivit, &c.

Alia ORATIO.

Benedic domine huic regem nostram qui regna omnium moderaris a sæculo, & tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicæ, teneat sublimitatis sceptrum et glorificatus in ejus, te propitio reperiatur merita; da ei tuo inspiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum, sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Tibi cum timore semper sit subditus; tibi que militet cum quiete: sit tuo clipeo protectus: cum proceribus & ubique tua gratia victor existat: honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus gentium: sælix populis dominetur, et sæliciter eum nationes adorent: vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus: sit in judiciis æquitatis singularis: locupletet eum tuæ prædives dextera: frugiferam obtineat patriam, et ejus liberis tribuas pro futura: presta ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora ut in diebus ejus oriatur iusticia: a te robustum teneat regiminis solium, et cum jocunditate & iusticia æterno gloriatur in regno, &c.

Alia ORATIO.

Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi, conditor generis humani, gubernator imperii, confirmator regni, qui ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarchæ nostri Abrahamæ præ eligisti regem sæculis pro futurum, tu presentem regem hunc cum exercitu suo per intercessionem omnium sanctorum uberi benedictione locupleta, & in solium regni firma stabilitate connecte: visita eum sicut Moysen in rubo, Jesum navè in prælio, Gedeon in agro, Samuelem in templo: & illa eum benedictione sydereæ ac sapientiæ tuæ rore perfunde, quam beatus David in psalterio, Salomon filius eius te remunerante percepit e cœlo: Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica, in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia; in protectione clypeus sempiternus: & præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem; proceres sui habeant pacem diligant charitatem abstineant se a cupiditate loquantur iusticiam custodiant veritatem & ita populus iste pullulet coqlitus benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneant tripudiantes in pace victores. Per Christi, &c.

Dominus vobiscum, &c.

ORATIO.

Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis, & amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo N. spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus, in regni regimine maneant semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans ad æternum regnum te duce valeat pervenire. Per dominum nostrum Jesum, &c.

Then shall the archbishop say, with an audible voice,

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.—Resp. cleri, Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.—Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.—Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum & justum est, æquum & salutare.—Nos tibi semper & ubique gratias agere, domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne deus.—Electorum fortitudo & humilium celsitudo, qui primordio per effusionem diluvii

* This excellent prayer is translated, and placed in the end of the Whole Duty of Man, and there said to be from the *Liber Regalis*.

diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israelitum sacerdotes ac reges & prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesiæ in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse predixisti. Ita quæsumus omnipotens pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum N. sanctificare tuâ benedictione digneris eumque in similitudinem columbæ pacem simplicitatis populo sibi subdito præstare et exempla Aaron in dei servitio diligenter imitari, regnique fastigia in consiliis scientiæ et equitate judicii semper assequi vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctionem tuamque benedictionem te adjuvante toti plebi paratam habere facias, per Christum dominum nostrum, &c.*

This prayer finished, the prince ariseth, and sitteth in his chair for a small space; then goeth from thence to the altar, where he putteth off his upper garments to the silk tunic, which is made open for the anointing: the archbishop openeth the places to be anointed, and anointeth first his hands with the holy oil, saying

Unguantur manus istæ de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut unxit Samuel David in regem; ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex in regno isto super populum istum quem Dominus Deus tuus dedit tibi ad regendum et gubernandum, quod ipse prestare dignetur, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit, &c.

Then the choir shall sing the following anthem:

Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem; et accedentes læti dixerunt, Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex in æternum.—P. Domine in virtute tua.

O R A T I O.

Prospice, omnipotens Deus, serenis obtutibus hunc gloriosum regem N. et sicut benedixisti Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, sic illum largis benedictionibus spiritualis gratiæ cum omni plenitudine tua potentia irrigare atque profundere dignare; tribue ei Domine de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam frumenti, vini et olei, et omnium frugum opulentiam ex largitate divini muneris longa per tempora, ut illo regnante sit corporum sanitas in patria, et pax inviolata sit in regno, et dignitas gloriosa regalis palatii in maximo splendore regiæ potestatis oculis omnium fulgeat luce clarissima choruscare atque splendescere quasi splendidissima fulgura maximo perfusa lumine videatur.—Tribue ei, omnipotens Deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriæ, et consolator ecclesiarum atque cœnobiorum sanctorum maxima cum pietate regalis munificentiæ, atque ut sit fortissimus regum, triumphator hostium ad opprimendas rebelles, et paganas nationes; sitque suis inimicis satis terribilis præmaxima fortitudine regalis potentiæ: optimatibus quoque atque præcellis proceribus atque fidelibus sui regni munificus et amabilis, et pius; ut ab omnibus timeatur, atque diligatur: reges quoque de lumbis ejus per successiones temporum futurorum egrediantur regnum hoc regere totum, et post gloriosa tempora atque felicia præsentis vitæ gaudia sempiterna in perpetua beatitudine habere mereatur, per Dominum, &c.

Then shall the archbishop anoint his breast, his shoulders, between his shoulders, the bending of his arms, and the crown of his head, in the form of the cross, first with the holy oil, and afterwards with the sacred ointment;† that done, the abbot of Westminster shall put on his robes again, and the archbishop shall say the following prayers:

Deus, Dei filius, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, qui a Patre oleo exultationis inunctus est, præ participibus suis, ipse per præsentem sacri unguinis infusionem spiritus paracliti super caput tuum infundat benedictio-

* The ampull. wherein the holy oil was kept, was in the shape of a dove.

† Imprimis inungantur de oleo—et postea de chrismate.

nem, eandemque usque ad interiora cordis tui penetrare faciat, quatenus hoc visibili et tractabili dono invisibilia percipere, et temporali regno iustis moderaminibus executo æternaliter cum eo regnare merearis, qui solus sine peccato rex regum vivit, et gloriatur cum Deo Patre in unitate ejusdem Spiritui Sancto. &c.

A L I A.

Deus qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum, qui misisti Filium tuum precioso sanguine suo genus humanum redimere, qui conteris bella, et propugnator es in te sperantium, et sub cujus arbitrio omnium regnorum continetur potestas, te humiliter deprecamur, ut præsentem famulum tuum N. in tua misericordia confidentem, in præsentem sede regali benedicas, eique propicius adesse digneris, ut qui tua expetit protectione defendi, omnibus sit hostibus fortior. Fac eum, Domine, beatum esse, et victorem de inimicis suis: corona eum cum corona justitiæ et pietatis, ut ex toto corde et tota mente in te credens tibi deserviat, et sanctam tuam ecclesiam defendat et sublimet, populumque a te sibi commissum iuste regat, nullus insidiantibus malis eum in injusticiam convertat.—Accende, Domine, cor ejus ad amorem tuæ gratiæ per hoc unctionis oleum, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges et prophetas, quatenus diligens justiciam per tramitem similiter justitiæ populum ducens post peracta a te disposita in regali excellentia annorum curricula pervenire ad æterna gaudia mereatur: per, &c.

Then they put on the king the *colobium*, or short vest of fine linen, made in the manner of the *dalmatica*, and so as to cover the king's head, because of the anointing; *—which done, the archbishop blesteth the regal ornaments, using the following words:

Deus, Rex Regum, et Dominus Dominantium, per quem reges regnant, et legum conditores jura decernunt, dignare propitius benedicere hoc regale ornamentum, et præsta ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui illud portaturus est, ornamento bonorum morum, et sanctorum actionum, in conspectu tuo fulgeat, et post temporalem vitam æternam gloriam, quæ tempus non habet, sine fine possideat, &c.

Then the abbot of Westminster putteth upon the king the *tunica*, † or vest, over the *colobium*; which *tunica*, or vest, must be very long, reaching down to his ankles, wrought before and behind with large figures of gold; and then the buskins ‡:—the spurs are put on by a nobleman.

The archbishop layeth the sword upon the altar, and blesteth it, saying

Exaudi quæsumus Domine preces nostras, et hunc ensẽ quo hic famulus tuus N. se circumcingi desiderat, majestatis tuæ dextera benedicere et sanctificare dignare: quatenus defensio atque protectio possit esse ecclesiarum, viduarum, orphanorum, omniumque Deo servientium, contra sævitiam paganorum, aliisque insidiantibus sit pavor, terror, et formido.—Per, etc.

Then a bishop takes the sword, and delivers it to the king, when the archbishop says

Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratus, tibi regaliter impositum, nostræque benedictionis officio in defensionem sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ divinitus ordinatum;

* Post hæc induatur Sidonis colobio ad modum dalmaticæ formato capite amictu operto propter unctionem, qui amictus per septem dies continuos circa regium caput indestinenter permanebit: Octava vero die post dicti regis consecrationem unus episcoporum dicto rege in ecclesiâ sive in capella suâ presente missam de Trinitate celebrabit, missaque finita idem episcopus amictum præfatum auferet de capite regali dictum caput regium aquâ calida cum omni diligentia lavabit, quo loto & exsiccato, crines regios reverenter componet: deinde circulum aureum capiti dicti regis imponet honorifice, &c.—This curious passage my translator hath entirely passed over.

† Et prius induetur super prædictum colobium tunica longa & talari intexta magnis imaginibus aureis ante & retro.

‡ Caligis sandariis & calcaribus tibiis ejus & pedibus coaptatis.

ordinatum; et esto memior de quo Psalmista prophetavit, dicens, Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime ut per eundem vim aequitatis exerceas, molem iniquitatis potenter destruas, et sanctam, ecclesiam dei ejusque fideles propugando protegas, nec minus sub fide falsos, quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris ac destruas, viduas et pupillos clementer adjuves et defendas, desolata restaures, restaurata conserves; ulciscaris injusta, confirmes bene disposita; quatenus hæc in agendo virtutum triumpho gloriosus justiciæque cultor egregius, cum mundi Salvatore, cujus typum geris, in nomine sine fine merearis regnare, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per, &c.

The sword is then girded on by a peer;—and the armill is presented to the king, the archbishop saying

Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiæ, divinæque circumdationis indicium, quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas.

The armill, which is in the fashion of a stole, is then put about the king's neck, which hangs down over his shoulders to his elbows;—then the square robe, or pall, is put upon the king, (which pall is embroidered all over with golden eagles*) the archbishop saying

Accipe pallium quatuor initiis formatum, per quod intelligas quatuor mundi partes divinæ potestati esse subiectas, nec quenquam posse sæliciter regnare in terris, nisi cui potestas regnandi fuerit collata de cælis.

The archbishop shall bless the crown, saying as follows :

Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide precioso, benedic et sanctifica coronam istam, quatenus sicut ipsa diversis preciosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famulus tuus N. gestator ipsius multiplici preciosarum virtutum munere tua largiente gratia repleatur: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum regem æternum, qui, &c.

Then shall the archbishop sprinkle the crown with holy water, and cense it; after which he shall set it upon the king's head, saying

Coronet te deus corona gloriæ atque iusticiæ, honore & opere fortitudinis, ut per officium nostræ benedictionis cum fide recta & multiplici bonorum operum fructu, ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui; ipso largiente cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum.

Alia ORATIO.

Deus perpetuitatis, dux virtutum, cunctorum hostium victor, benedic hunc famulum tuum N. tibi caput suum inclinantem; & prolixa sanitate & prospera felicitate eum conserva; & ubicunque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito assis & protegas ac defendas. Tribue ei quæsumus domine divitiarum gratiæ tuæ: comple in bonis desiderium ejus; corona eum in misericordia tua, tibi que domino pia devotione jugiter famuletur: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui, &c.

And this anthem shall be sung:

Confortare et esto vir, et observa mandata domini dei tui, ut ambules in viis ejus, et custodias cæremonias ejus, & præcepta ejus & testimonia & judicia: et quocunque te verteris confirmet te deus.—P. Dominus regit me!

Then

* Unless "aquilis aureis" may bear any other interpretation.

The archbishop shall bless the ring, saying

Deus cœlestium, terrestriumque conditor creaturarum atque humani generis benignissimus reparator, dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumque benedictionum largitor, qui justitiam tuæ legis in cordibus credentium digito tuo id est unigenito tuo scribis, cui magi in Ægypto resistere non valentes concinnabant dicentes, digitus dei hic est: immitte spiritum sanctum tuum paracletum, de cœlis super hunc annulum arte fabрили decoratum, et sublimitatis tuæ potentia ita eum emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosique serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum immune a cunctis sordibus inimici maneat.

Alia O R A T I O.

Benedic domine & sanctifica annulum istum, et mitte super eum septiformem spiritum tuum, quo famulus tuus eo fruens, annulo fidei sub arratus virtute albissimi sine peccato custodiatur: et omnes benedictiones, quæ in scripturis divinis reperiuntur super eum copiose descendant, ut quæcunque sanctificaverit, sanctificata permaneant, et quæcunque benedixerit spirituali benedictione benedicantur.

Then shall the archbishop give the ring to the king, saying

Accipe regię dignitatis annulum, et per hunc in te Catholicę fidei signaculum, quatenus ut hodie orna: caput & princeps regni ac populi, ita perseveres auctor ac stabilitor Christianitatis & Christianę fidei, ut scilicet in opere locuples in fide, cum rege regum glorioris, cui est honor & gloria per æterna sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

O R A T I O.

Deus cujus est omnis potestas & dignitas, da famulo tuo suę proprię dignitatis effectum; in quo te remunerante permaneat, semperque te timeat, tibi que jugiter placere contendat, per dominum, &c.

The king taketh off his sword, wherewith he was girt before, and goeth to the altar and offers it; which the chief nobleman present, by offering, redeemeth, draweth out, and beareth naked before the king during the solemnity.

Then the king putteth on his linen gloves, which are part of the regalia; and the archbishop giveth him the golden sceptre, with the cross upon the top, into his right hand, saying

Accipe sceptrum regię potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni rectam, virgam virtutis qua teipsum bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam, populumque videlicet Christianum tibi a deo commissum regia virtute ab improbis defendas, praves corrigas, rectos pacifies, et ut vitam rectam tenere possint tuo juvamine dirigas, quatenus de temporali regno ad æternum regnum pervenias, ipso adjuvante cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

O R A T I O post S C E P T R U M.

Omniū domine fons bonorum, cunctorumque deus institutor profectuum, tribue quæsumus famulo tuo N. adeptam bene regere dignitatem; et a te sibi præstitum honorem dignare corroborare honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus Britannię; uberi eum benedictione locupleta, et in solio regni firma stabilitate consolida; visita eum in sobole: præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ: in diebus ejus semper oriatur justitia, ut cum jucunditate & lætitia æterno gloriatur in regno.

Then the golden rod, with the dove, is given into the king's left-hand, and the archbishop saith

Accipe virgam virtutis atque æquitatis, qua intelligas te mulcere pios & terrere reprobos: errantes viam doce, lapsisque manum porrige: disperdasque superbos & relevas humiles: ut aperiat tibi ostium Jesus Christus dominus noster, qui de seipso ait, Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introerit salvabitur. Et ipse qui est

est clavis David & septum domus Israel, qui aperit et nemo claudit; claudit et nemo aperit, fit tibi adiutor, qui educit vincitum de domo carceris, sedentem in tenebris & umbra mortis: ut in omnibus sequi merearis eum, de quo propheta David cecinit, sedes tua, Deus, in sæculum sæculi, virga recta est virga regni tui: Et imitare ipsum qui dicit, diligas iustitiam, et odio habeas iniquitatem; propterea unxit te deus, deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ, ad exemplum illius quem ante sæcula unxerat præ participibus suis Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.

Then the archbishop blesseth the king, as follows:

Benedicat tibi deus custodiatque te, & sicut te voluit super populum suum esse regem, ita in præsentī sæculo felicem & æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem. Amen.—Clerum ac populum quem sua voluit opitulatione tua sanctione congregari, sua dispensatione & tua administratione per diuturna tempora faciat feliciter gubernari. Amen.—Quatenus divinis monitis parentes, adversitantibus omnibus carentes, bonis omnibus exuberantes, tuo imperio fideli amore obsequentes, & in præsentī sæculo pacis tranquillitate fruantur, & te cum æternorum civium consorcio portiri mereantur. Amen.—Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cuius regnam & imperium.

The king kisseth the archbishop and the assistant bishops, and then he is led from the altar unto the stage, all the peers attending; the choir in the meantime sing the hymn “Te deum laudamus.”

When they have finished, the king is solemnly placed in his throne, and the archbishop sayeth to him as follows:

Sta, & retine a modo locum, quem huiusque paterna successione tenuisti hæreditario iudicio tibi delegatum per auctoritatem dei omnipotentis, & præsentem traditionem nostram, et omnium episcoporum, cæterorumque dei servorum: & quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorem prospicis, tanto ei potiores in locis congruis, honorem impendere memineris quatenus mediator dei & hominum te mediatorem cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, & in regnum æternum regnare faciat Jesus Christus dominus noster, rex regum & dominus dominantium, qui cum patre & spiritu sancto vivit & regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

When this is done, all the peers of the realm do their homage to his majesty, and then put their hands and touch his crown together.*

The king (for his ease) delivereth his sceptre and rod to any that he pleaseth, attending.

The ceremonies of anointing and crowning the king being thus finished, the archbishop goeth to the altar; and the queen cometh from her seat also to the

* In a MS. in my own possession I find this remark:

Et memorandum quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis primus faciet homaginam regi & fidelitatem in coronatione sua & postea alii prelati & proceres regni quilibet in suo gradu.

Take the oath of homage, from the same old MS. in the antiquated language.

Ich become your man liege, of lyfe, & lynne, & trouth; & ethelich honour to you shall bere, ageynst al men that mowe lybe & dye; so help me god & holydome.

The same also in old French.

Jeo debien botze homme liege, de vie, & de membre, & de scale; & tezene honour a vous portez, encountre tout manize de gentes qui povit vivre & moir; & dieu me aide & toutz saintz.

altar, supported by the two bishops, where she kneels down, and the archbishop sayeth the following prayer : *

Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem, lucemque habitatus inaccessibilem, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, qui fecisti quæ futura sunt, et vocas ea quæ non sunt, tanquam ea quæ sunt; qui superbos equo moderamine de principatu deicis atque humiles dignanter in sublime provebis; ineffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut reginam Hester, causa Judaice salutis de captivitatis suæ compede solutam, ad regis Assueri thalamum, regnique sui consortium transire fecisti, ita hanc famulam tuam N. humilitatis nostræ benedictione Christianæ plebis gratia salutis ad dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulum misericorditer transire concedas; ut in regalis fœdere conjugii semper manens, pudica proximam virginitati palmam continere queat, tibi que Deo vivo et vero in omnibus, et super omnia, jugiter placere desideret, et, te inspirante, quæ tibi placita sunt toto corde perficiat, &c.

The queen ariseth; then the chief lady present taketh off the queen's coronet, and openeth the robe at her breast: when the queen kneeleth again, and the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Spiritus Sancti gratia humilitatis nostræ officio in te copiosa descendat, ut sicut manibus nostris indignis oleo materiali oblita pinguescis exterius, ita ejus invisibili unguine delibuta, impinguari merearis interius, ejusque spiritali unctione perfectissime semper imbuta et illicita, declinare tota mente et spernere discas seu valeas et utilia animæ tuæ jugiter cogitare, optare, atque operari queas, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Then shall the archbishop anoint her breast, and the crown of her head, in the form of a cross, saying, as he anoints her breast,

In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, prosit tibi hæc unctio olei, in honorem et confirmationem æternam in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The same shall he repeat, when he pours the holy oil upon her head; and then saith the following prayer:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem spiritum tuæ benedictionis super famulam tuam N. nobis orantibus propitiatus infunde, ut quæ per manus nostræ impositionem hodie regina instituit sanctificatione tua digna et electa permaneat, ut nunquam postmodum de tua gratia separetur indigna. Per, &c.

The

* At the entry of the queen into the church, the archbishop sayeth this prayer:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons & origo totius bonitatis, qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando adversaris sed dignanter comprobando propicius eligis, & qui infirma mundi eligendo forcia quæque confundere decrevisti, quique etiam gloriæ virtutisque tuæ triumphum in manu Judith feminæ olim Judaicæ plebi de hoste seivissimo resignare voluisti; respice quæsumus preces humilitatis nostræ et super hanc famulam tuam N. quam suplicii devotione in reginam eligimus benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tuæ potentie semper & ubique circunda, ut umbone muniminis tui undique securis firmiter protecta visibilis seu invisibilis hostis nequitias triumphaliter expugnare valeat, & una cum Sara atque Rebecca & Rachel beatis reverendisque feminis fructu uteri sui fœcundari seu gratulari mereatur, ad decorem totius regni statumque sanctæ dei æcclesiæ regendum nec non protegendum, per Christum dominum nostrum qui intemerato beatæ Mariæ Virginis utero nasci & visitare ac renovare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum vivit & gloriatur deus in unitate spiritus sancti per immortalia secula seculorum. Amen.

The prayer finished, the chief lady closeth the queen's robes at her breast, and putteth upon her head a linen quoyf: and the archbishop putteth on the queen's ring, saying,

Accipe annulum fidei signaculum sinceritatis, quo possis omnis hæreticas pravitatis devitare, et barbaras gentes virtute Dei premere, et ad agnitionem veritatis advocare. Per, &c.

Then followeth this prayer:

Deus cujus est omnis potestas et dignitas, da famulae tuae N. signo tuae fidei prosperum suae dignitatis effectum in qua tibi semper firma maneat, tibi que jugiter placere contendat. Per, &c.

The archbishop placeth the crown upon the altar, and blesteth it, saying

Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide precioso, benedic et sanctifica coronam istam quatenus sicut ipsa diversis preciosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famula tua N. gestatrix ipsius multiplici preciosarum virtutum munere tua largiente gratia repleatur. Per, etc.

He putteth the crown upon her head, saying

Accipe coronam gloriae, bonorum, iocunditatis, ut splendida fulgeas, et æterna exultatione coroneris.

Alia ORATIO.

Officio indignitatis nostrae seu congregationis in reginam benedicta, accipe coronam regalis excellentiae, quæ licet ab indignis episcoporum tamen manibus capiti tuo imponitur, unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientiae virtutumque gemmis decorari contendas; quatenus post occasum huius sæculi cum prudentibus virginibus, sponso perenni Domino nostro Jesu Christo valeas adherere, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

This prayer being done, the archbishop delivereth the scepter into the queen's right-hand, and the ivory rod (with the dove) into her left, and sayeth the following prayer:

Omnium Domine fons bonorum, et cunctorum dator profectuum, tribue famulae tuae N. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitam bonis operibus corroborare gloriam, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. &c.

This prayer finished, the queen ariseth, and goeth from the altar (supported by the two bishops) up to the stage; and passing by the king, doth bow humbly to him: * after which she is led to her throne, and is placed in it without further ceremony.

The archbishop goeth to the altar, and beginneth a communion; he readeth also a collect: the epistle and gospel are read by two bishops, together with the Nicene creed.

That done, the choir singeth an anthem.

In the mean time the king and queen come down to offer: the king goeth first to the altar, and offereth bread and wine for the communion; then returneth to his chair, and going again he offereth a mark of gold. Then the queen goeth to the altar and offereth.

* Inclinet, ejus majestatem, ut deceet, adorando, &c.

The bishop who celebrates the mass sayeth the following prayers, blessing the king and queen.

Dominus vobiscum. — Et cum spiritu tuo.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore cœli, et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam frumenti et vini, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus; et qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur; et Deus erit adjutor tuus: Omnipotens Dominus benedicat tibi benedictionibus cœli desuper in montibus et in collibus; benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum; benedictionibus uberum frumentorum et rivarum, pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum, Abraham et Isaac et Jacob confortatæ sint super te. Per Dom. nostr. &c.

Alia ORATIO.

Benedic Domine fortitudinem istius principis, et opera manuum ejus suscipe: et de benedictione tua terra ejus de pomis repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore, atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis et lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ, et de pinguedine ejus. — Benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput istius, et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tingat in oleo pedem suum: Cornua Rhinocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, quia ascensor cœli auxiliator ejus in æternum fiat. Per Dominum, &c.

After these blessings, they are brought back to their chairs, hard by the altar; and the archbishop proceedeth with the prayer as follows:

Munera Domine quæsumus oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis Unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et famulo tuo regi nostro N. ad obtinendam animæ corporisque salutem: et ad peragendum injunctum officium te largiente, usquequaque proficiant per eundem.

Aliud secretum pro Rege & Regina.

Suscipe Domine preces et hostias ecclesiæ tuæ pro salute famuli tui regis nostri N. et reginæ nostræ N. in protectione fidelium populorum supplicantis, ut antiqua brachii tui te operante miracula superatis inimicis, secunda tibi seruiat Christianorum libertas. Per Dominum, &c.

P R Æ F A T I O.

Æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcescibilis lucis & origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, bonorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor, cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulam tuam N. quam regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari, et quia tui est muneris, quod regnat, tuæ sit pietatis, quo id feliciter agat, quatenus in fundamento, spei fidei charitatisque fundata, peccatorum labe absterisa de visibilibus et invisibilibus triumphator effectus, subiecti populi augmento, prosperitate & securitate exhilaratus, cum eis mutua dilectione connexus, et transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, & ad æterni infinita gaudia te miserante perveniat. Per Christum Dom. nost. &c.

A G N U S - D E - I.

Sequetur autem benedictio super regem & populum.

Omnipotens Deus charismatum suorum vos locupleter jucunditate, et regem nostrum ecclesiasticæ pacis perfrui faciat tranquillitate. Amen.

Angelum sanctum suum ubique ei custodem tribuat & defensorem tamque vobis quam et sibi virtutum sanctarum conferat vigorem. Amen.

Ambitum regni sui in diebus ejus pax circumdet honesta; et quocunque se vertetur adversariorum vis enervetur infesta; omnisque in nobis religio abundet modesta. Amen.

After

After the archbishop hath communicated himself and those who assist him, the king and the queen come to the steps of the altar, to receive the communion; the archbishop ministereth the bread, and the abbot of Westminster the cup: that done, the king and queen are brought back to their thrones, and there stay till the service is ended.

Then the choir sing this anthem:

Intellige clamorem meum, intende voci orationis meæ rex meus, & Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo Domine.

The PRAYERS after the COMMUNION.

Hæc nos Domine communio purget a crimine, et famulum tuum N. regem nostrum ab omnibus tueatur adversis: quatenus et ecclesiasticæ pacis obtineat tranquillitatem, et post istius temporis decursum ad æternam perveniat hæreditatem. Per Dom. &c.

Another Prayer after the Communion, for the King and Queen.

Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut per hæc mysteria quæ sumpsimus, rex noster N. et regina nostra N. et populus Christianus semper rationabilia meditantes, quæ tibi sunt placita, et dictis exequantur & factis. Per Dominum nostrum, &c.

After the mass and service is done, the king and queen come down from their thrones, in state, and go to king Edward's chapel; and there the king taketh off the crown, and delivereth it to the archbishop; and the queen doth the same; and he layeth them upon the altar there.

The king withdraweth himself into the travers; and the queen waiteth till the king returns, either doing her devotions at her fald-stool, or reposing herself in her seat. Within the travers, the great chamberlain of England taketh off the king's robes, and delivereth them to the abbot of Westminster; and the king putteth on his own robes royal, which are prepared for him to wear that day: he then goeth out of the travers to king Edward's altar, where the archbishop putteth on the king and queen's heads the crowns they are to wear that day.

The king and queen take into their hands again, each of them, their scepter and rod: the train is then set in order, and the king and queen go back to the palace, in most solemn manner, the same way they came.

The king and queen withdrawing themselves after dinner, the scepter and rod (part of the *regalia*) are re-delivered to the abbot of Westminster.

The Principal Officers at the Day of Coronation.*

The lord Richard Bello Campo (or Beauchamp) of Bedford, almoner, to cause the cloths to be spread upon the ground, from the king's palace to the stage in the abbey of Westminster (as before observ'd). As much of which as is without the church belongs to the poor; the rest to the church.

The

* This is from a curious old MS. in my own possession.

The bishops of Bath and Durham, to support the king in the procession, habited in their *pontificalibus*.

The lord high chancellor of England (if a bishop) in his *pontificalibus*, to go before the king, bearing the cup of St. Edward.

The lord chief treasurer (if a bishop) also in his *pontificalibus*, to go before the king, bearing the patena.

Two chief noblemen to go before the king, carrying the one the scepter with the cross, the other the scepter with the dove.

The earl of Chester, to bear the curtana before the king.*

The earl of Huntingdon, at the earl of Chester's right hand, and the earl of Warwick at his left, each bearing a sword.

A chief nobleman, to bear the great gilt spurs, in the procession before the king.†

A chief nobleman, to redeem the sword of the king from the altar, and bear it during the solemn ceremony.

The earl of Leicester that day serves the office of high steward.

The duke of York (or his heirs) serve the office of marshal.

The earl of Arundel, the office of chief butler.

The earl of Hereford, the office of high constable.

The earl of Oxford, the office of chamberlain.

Lord Richard Hastings serveth the king with table napkins.

Lord Richard Beauchamp serveth the office of butler.

Lord Richard de Furnival, to support the king's right arm, when he holds his scepter.

The barons of the Cinque Ports, to bear the canopy over the heads of the king and queen, in the procession; &c.

Nobility, and their Creation.

Vide vol. 2
of this work,
pag. 64.

In the second volume of this work, I have said as much as concerns my present design, respecting the method of creating noble estates: In this, I shall only add the expences for such creations, as in the time of Henry the Seventh; which I copied from a large folio MS. then in the possession of the late worthy gentleman, John Ives, esq; of Great Yarmouth; it is entitled "*An Account of the coronation of Henry the Seventh.*"

MS penes
J. Ives, Esq;

The

* This is also confirmed by the Liber Regalis, "*Comes Cestrie—portabit gladium, qui vocatur curtana.*"—In a MS. in the Cotton library (Nero, D. vi.) in which is a particular account of the offices claimed at the coronation of Richard the Second, 'tis expressly affirm'd that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in right of his earldom of Leicester, claim'd the office of bearing the *curtana*; and that his assignee, Henry earl of Derby (his son) bore it for him during the ceremony, while he (the said duke) was busied as steward.—He also, as earl of Lincoln, claimed the office to cut and carve at the king's table, which was granted him, and was performed by his assignee, the earl of Stafford.

† This office, at the coronation of Richard the Second, was claimed by John, the son of John earl of Pembroke; but he being under age, it was assigned to Edmund earl of March.

John Dymocke, for the manor of Scryvelby, at the above coronation served the office of *champion*.

The Apparel for the Creacon of Estates, from an Earle upwarde.

Imprimis. For the kirtle, or circote, 14 yardes of crymsen velvet.

Item. For the mantell, 18 yardes of crymsen velvet, furred with white myniver pur:

Item. The hoode, scabarde of the swearde, and girdle, to be of the fare velvet.

Duties to be payed at the Creacon of the Estates aforesaide.

| | | | | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----------|----|----|
| To the officer of armes his gowne | — | — | — | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To the trumpette | — | — | — | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| To the gentlemen huifshiers | — | — | — | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| To the sewers | — | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the yomen huifshiers | — | — | — | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To the gromes of the chamber | — | — | — | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To the yomen waiters | — | — | — | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To the grome porters | — | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the feller | — | — | — | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| The buttrie | — | — | — | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| The kinges largeffe at such creacon | — | — | — | 5 markes. | | |

Provision for the Creacon of an Erle.

First to appointe the name of the countie;—the daye of creacion;—the place where he shall dyne with the noble men;—the robes of state;—the swearde;—the lettres patents;—three erles, two principall to lead him, one to beare the swearde;—gartier, to beare his letres patente;—his stile to be proclaymed.

Provision for the Creacion of a Baron.

First to appoint the name of the baronnye;—the day of his creacon;—the dyning place;—the robe;—the kirtle;—the hoode;—the lettres patente, to be borne by gartier;—three barons in their robes, two to leade him, one to beare his robe;—his stile to be proclaimed by gartier.

Duties

Duties to be paid at the same Creacion.

| | | | £. | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|----|----|----|
| To the office of armes his gown, &c. | — | — | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To the trumpette | — | — | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| To the gentlemen ushers | — | — | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To the sewers | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the yomen husshers | — | — | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To the gromes of the chamber | — | — | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To the yomen waiters | — | — | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To the grome porters | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the feller | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the buttrie | — | — | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the minstrells, at your pleaſer | — | — | | | |

The kinges largeſſe at ſuch creacions five markes.

Laws and Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton. in-
fig. Titus,
C. I.

This was
the Form of
the Ceremo-
ny An. 17.
E. III.

By the laws of this kingdom no man is bound to accuse himself; for though heretofore (in caſes of high treason, or the like) torture hath been uſed, yet it was for the diſcovery of the confederates, and not for evidence againſt the delinquent; for no priſoner, in capital matters, is required, or even permitted, to answer upon oath * to his accusation, except in ſuch matters as could not well be proved, and the which were referred by the court to combat: in caſes of felony † the ceremonies of combat ‡ were as follows; the defendant having pleaded Not Guilty, put himſelf upon his perſonal defence; then the plaintiff (being ſo ordered by the court) took the defendant by the left hand, and laid his own right hand upon the goſpels; turning to the defendant, he called him by his chriſtian name, ſaying, “ You *Thomas*, whom I *John* do hold by the hand, I do here charge thee, that upon ſuch a year, and ſuch a day; thou didſt feloniously rob me, or kill my brother, &c. (*repeating the full charge againſt the defendant*) and I am ready to aver the ſame by my body, as a good and lawful man, and that my appeal is true, ſo help me God and all his ſaints;” then they diſjoin their hands, and

* In criminal matters, not capital, handled in the Star Chamber; and in cauſes of conſcience handled in the Chauncery (for the moſt part grounded upon truſt and ſecrecy) the oath of the party is required; but not where there is an accusation, or an accuſor, viz. bills of complaint exhibited unto the court, and by proceſs notified unto the defendant: only the Eccleſiaſtical Courts enforce an oath *ex officio*, whereby men are enforced to accuſe themſelves. — Beſides they are ſworn unto *blanque*, and not unto accusations and charges declared. Vid. Bacon's *Conſiderations of the Church of England*, and MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 980.

† For a full account of combat, in caſes of treason, ſee pages 69, 70, Vol. II.

‡ Great part of this article is taken from a large folio MS. of various collections, preſerved in the Cotton Library; it conſiſts of papers written by Whitlock, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and various other learned authors; the preſent article is extracted from the papers “*Sub Tit. Duellum*.” — The preſs mark of this MS. is Titus C. I.

and the defendant took the left hand of the plaintiff in his left hand, laying his right also upon the book, making his declaration as follows; "You *John* whom I *Thomas* do hold by the hand, have basely and falsely lyed upon me; for that I did not rob thee, or kill thy brother, &c. as thou hast charged me; this I am ready to maintain by my body; and that this my defence is true so help me God and all his saints." The plaintiff, if within three days he found pledges of his battle, was set at liberty; but the defendant was committed to the custody of the marshal, who took care that he should have sufficiency both of meat and drink, as also of rest and quiet. *Bracton* indeed affirmeth, that both plaintiff and defendant should be committed to the marshal's charge until the day of battle, and both should be kept so close that none might be admitted to speak with either of them. When they came into the field, prepared for the combat, they must either of them take an oath that their cause was just, and also to acquit themselves from the suspicion of using any enchantments, or devilish arts, to obtain the victory, contrary to the common course of things.

Bracton,
lib. 3, c. 21.

If the plaintiff (as above-mentioned) was set at liberty, he was obliged, the night preceding the day of combat, to come to the marshal, to be by him arrayed in such armour as was requisite for the occasion; and when the combatants were met in the field, a proclamation was made, strictly forbidding any, on pain of great and grievous punishment, to make any outcry, or use other unlawful means to make the combatants turn their heads, or otherwise interrupt them.

Act made 6
Hen. 4.

The plaintiff had the advantage of having his head covered, while the defendant was obliged to perform his combat bare headed.

The Ceremonies of Combat, in a Writ of Right.

Combat was also allowed in cases of writs of right; but it might not be performed by the parties themselves, but by their *champions* or *substitutes*; which champions were obliged to be free men, and of credit, such as would be esteemed good and substantial witnesses.* The day appointed for the hearing of the cause, the defendant's serjeant doth rehearse to the court the whole

Glanville,
lib. 2, cap. 3.

* The words of *Glanville* are, "talīs debet esse campio, qui sit et esse possen inde testis idoneus;" and for this reason the parties might not in their own proper persons perform the combat, quid id fieri non potest, nisi per testem idoneum, audientem vel videntem; and therefore (before the statute pri. West. cap. 40.) the champion did swear, at the time of combat, that he saw the defendant, or the tenant, take esplees of the land; or else that he heard his father say, on his death bed, that he saw it, and desired him to testify the same; for the words of *Glanville* are to that effect, where he makes the defendant say "et hoc paratus sum probare per hunc liberum hominem, J— cui pater suis injuxit, in extremis agens, in fide qua filius tenetur patri, quod si aliquando loquelam de terra illa audiret hoc diracionaret sicut id quod pater suus vidit et audivit;" but because the champions were for the most part perjured, in taking this oath, it was abolished by this statute; Des serement des champions est issint perveu, pureeo qui remement avient que le champion le demaundaunt ne soit perjure en ceo quil jure, quil ou son pierre vist la seyfine son seignour ou de son ancestre, et que son pierre luy amanda a faire la dereigum qui mesque ne soit le champion le demandant distreynt a ceo jurer, mes soit le serement garder en toutes ses auters pointes.—E. MS. penes author.

process of the matter in dispute; and then the tenant's serjeant maketh his defence, and pleads that he (the tenant) was ready to prove his right, by the body of his free man: then he produced the champion, presenting him to the court, holding him by the right hand, upon which he wore his gauntlet. In the same manner and form the serjeant for the defendant also brought forth his champion openly, with words importing his readiness to undertake the combat; and this was thus done by the serjeants for the parties, although they themselves might be there present in their own proper persons.

When the serjeants had performed these above-mentioned ceremonies, a day was by the court assigned and fix'd for the champions to appear in arms, and the parties on both sides were for the present dismissed.

On the appointed day, the aforesaid parties being come into the court, the chief justice commanded the champions to be set apart; that is to say, the champion for the tenant was placed in the east part of the court, and the champion for the defendant in the west, both being bare-headed, and there they kneeled down; when the justice demanded of the serjeants, if they could shew any lawful reason why the champions should not be allowed to perform the combat? and on their answering No, the justice further questioned, whether the champions were good and sound men; and then the clerks of the court demanded of either champion one of his gauntlets, which was delivered to the chief justice, who examined whether there was a penny put into every finger of each gauntlet; which being found to be so, the gauntlets were again, in the same state, returned to the champions to whom they belonged. Then were they severally questioned by the justice, whether they would duly and truly perform the combat? On their answering that they would, they were again remanded to their places, the one in the east, the other in the west, as before, and then ordered to lay down their gauntlets in the court; when the justices addressing themselves to the serjeants at the bar, who were of the council for the two parties, demanding if there were any lawful cause to be alledged why the combat should be delayed? they answering No, the court called for the champions again, and appointed then to them the day certain for the combat, strictly ordering them that they should be ready to perform the same, at any hour on the day so appointed that they might be called for: the court also gave charge to the two parties, that they should not permit their champions to go into the public markets, fairs, or taverns, until the combat was performed. They also straitly commanded the champions, that they should not, by any manner of means, do hurt or mischief to each other; and then their gauntlets, each having five pence within the fingers, were re-delivered to them, and they were ordered to go, the one to St. Paul's church, and the other to St. Peter's at Westminster, that they might there severally offer their five pence, in honour of the five wounds of Christ, and make prayer to God that he would be pleased to bestow the victory on him who undertook the most rightful cause; which charge given, the champions and the parties were dismissed, the one champion going out of the east door of the court, and the other out of the west, that they might not meet or pass each other.

At the day appointed for the combat, the parties and their champions appeared again at the bar; and there the whole charge and process was read,
and

and the names of the champions rehearsed. When this was done, the defendant brought forth his champion, in red leather, with a red target at his back, and a knight held his red baston, or truncheon, of five quarters in length, blunt at the end without a knob:—the tenant also produced his champion, in like manner apparelled; and the chief justice did measure their staves, and caused them to be searched before him, to see if they had any rhyme, charm, or herb, about them; * and if they found any, the court forthwith dismissed the champions for that day: but if, on the contrary, nothing unlawful was found, they proceeded to the place appointed for the combat (which was commonly performed in some open field near Westminster †) where the lists were railed round, and made of a proper size, to give them room sufficient. The champions were then brought in by two knights, and on their arrival a proclamation was made to the spectators to keep peace, and the oath was administered to the champions; which done, they began the combat, and according to the chance of the field the judgment was finally given.

The loss of members was a frequent and common method of punishment, for various crimes, in ancient ages; but in the latter times that punishment was confined to those only who struck others in the king's presence, or in his court, and they (saith the author of the Description of Britain) were sure, without any hope of mercy, benefit of clergy or sanctuary, to lose their right hands; which dreadful sentence was executed in the following manner:—

At such time therefore as the party transgressing is convicted by a sufficient enquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the tyme come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the king's wood-yarde provydeth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithal a great beetle, ‡ staple, and cordes, wherewith to fasten the hande of the offender unto the sayde blocke, untill the whole circumstance of his execution be perfourmed. The yoman of the scullary lykewyse for the tyme beyng doth provide a great fire of coales harde by the blocke, wherein the searing yrons are to be made ready against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also doth the sergeant or chief farrouer attend with those yrons, whose office is to deliver them to the said surgeon when he shall be ready by searing to use the same. The grome of the salary for the time beyng, or hys deputie, is furthermore appointed to be readie with vinegar and colde water, and not to depart from the place untill the arme of the offender be bounde up and fully dressed. And as these thinges are thus provided, so the sergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stump, when the hande is taken from it. The sergeant of the tellar is at hande also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
980.

2d Book of
the Descrip.
of Britain,
cap. 9.
Vide Hol-
ling. vol. 1.

G 2

the

* In the 29th Edward III. the champion of the bishop of Salisbury (in a writ of right for the castle of *Thorborne*) was found to have rolls of orizons, and invocations wrapp'd about him.

† In the 13th of queen Eliz. a combat was appointed to have been performed in Tothill Fields (concerning a writ for certain manour and demaine lands in the isle of Hartye) where there was erected, in form of a court of justice, lists properly railed round, twenty yards square, &c.—See the whole form and ceremony then used, in Hollingshead, vol. 2, page 1859.

‡ Or mallet.

the pantry with manchet bread, to give unto the sayd partye after the execution done, and the stomp seared, as the sergeaunt of the ewery is with clothes, wherein to winde and wrap up the arme; the yoman of the pultrie with a cocke to laye unto it*; the yoman of the chaundrie with seared clothes; and finally the maister cooke, or his deputie, with a sharp dressing knife, which he delivereth at the place of execution to the sergeaunt of the larder, who doth hold it upright in his hande untill the execution be performed † by the publicke officer appointed thereunto. And this is the maner of punishment ordayned for those that stryke within the prince's pallace, or limites of the same; and (continues my author) the lyke privilege is almost given to churches and churchyardes, although in maner of punishment great difference do appeare. For he that bralleth or quarrelleth in eyther of them is by and by suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, until he be absolved; as he is also that striketh wyth the fist or layeth violent handes upon any whome soever. But if he happen to smite wyth staffe or dagger, or any maner of weapon, and the same be sufficiently founde by the verdict of twelve men at his arrainement, besides excommunication, he is sure to lose one of his eares wythout all hope of recovirye. But if he be such a one as hath been twyse condemned and executed, wherby he hath now no eares, then is he marked with an hote yron upon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared into his flesh: he is from thenceforth noted as a common baratour, and fray maker, and thereunto remayneth excommunicate, till by repentaunce he deserve to be absolved.

Defer. Brit.
ap. Holling.
pag. 108.

Concerning thieves, &c. who were saved by their clergy, and books, (says an old author) they are burnt in the left hand, upon the brawn of the thumb, with a hot iron, so that if they be apprehended agayne, that mark berayeth them to have been before arraigned of felony; for which cause there is no hope for mercy the second time. I read not (continues my author) that this custom of saving by the book, is used any where else then in England;—neither do I find (after much diligent enquiry) what Saxon prince ordained this law. Howbeit I generally gather thereof, that it was devised at the first to train the inhabitants of this land to the love of learning, who before contemned letters; for if the delinquent, when he was found guilty, could read the certain books by law set forth, he then claimed that privilege of his books, and was excused from punishment.

In imitation also of the antient Hebrew custom, established by that valiant and victorious leader Joshua, there were within this kingdom certain places appointed of sanctuary; to which offenders making their escape, were there protected from the law, while they remained within the limits ascertained:—Also those who fled into the churches to the altar, there taking sanctuary, were under special protection; and if they were by force taken from thence, the
priests

* In the quarto edition of Stow, the preparation made, an. 38, Hen. 8. for the cutting off the hand of Sir Edmond Knevet, knt. for striking in the king's house, it runs thus: "The sergeaunt of the pultrie with a cocke, which cocke should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife:" but why this ceremony was performed I can get no account.—Vide Stow quart. pag. 978.

† In Stow, "the sergeaunt of the larder to set the knife right upon the joint." Thus it appears the hand was smitten off by the executioner, with a knife, struck upon by a beetle or mallet.

priests and clergy made great outcries, deeming it a violation of the church privileges. Yet in matters of very heinous sort, offenders have been taken from the churches, and sanctuaries, without any great offence given; especially if in such matters it concerned the interest of the clergy to bring the offenders to justice,

There were two famous sanctuaries at London, the one in St. Martin's le Grand, and the other at Westminster Abbey. Of what date the institution of sanctuaries within this kingdom is, I have not been able to discover, but that they are very antient may appear; for *Sebert*, king of the West Saxons, who (ann. Dom. 605.) first founded the abbey of Westminster, granted to it the sanctuary privileges; which were increased by *Edgar*, and afterwards renewed and confirmed by the *Confessor*, whose charter runs thus in Stow's Survey:—

Stow's Survey of London, p. 519.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of Englishmen: *I make it to be known to all generations of the world after me, that by especial commandment of our holy father, pope Leo, I have renewed, and honoured the holy church of the blessed apostle, Saint Peter of Westminster; and I order and establish for ever, that what person, of what condition or estate soever he be, from whencesoever he come, or for what offence or cause it bee, either for his refuge into the said holy place, he be assured of his life, liberty and limbs. And over this, I forbid (under the pain of everlasting damnation) that no minister of mine, or of my successors, intermeddle them with any of the goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons, taking the said sanctuary: for I have taken their goods and livelihood into my special protection; and therefore I grant to every each of them (in as much as my terrestrial power may suffice) all manner of freedom and joyous liberty; and whosoever presumes or doeth contrary to this my grant, I will be loose his name, worship, dignity, and power, and that with the great traytor Judas, that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of Hell. And I will and ordaine, that this my grant may endure as long, as there remaineth in England either love or dread of Christian name.*

However good the intention of establishing such sanctuaries originally might have been, the dreadful abuse of them in latter years rendered them a nuisance; which may appear from the speech of the duke of Buckingham concerning them, as recorded by our chroniclers, in the life of Edward the Fifth. He there plainly and expressly declares, that they were (these two at London especially) but harbours for all kinds of villainous, shameless, and abandoned miscreants, the nurseries of vice and infamy, &c.

See Holingt. V. 2, p. 1366. Grafton 770 Stow Chron. pag. 442. Speed. 890.

In the reign of king Henry the Seventh, Perken Werbeck (after his defeat) fled to sanctuary; and though the king did not chuse to force him from thence; yet he caused the place to be beset round so strongly with his soldiers, that there was no hope left to Perken of escape; so he, seeing the extremity of his condition, came forth of his own accord, and submitted himself to the king.—

This politic prince, to prevent such future trouble, in the 1th year of his reign obtained, of pope Alexander, authority to abolish the custom of sanctuary protection for rebels and traitors.

Hollin. Chr. P. 1457.

But

But as soon as the protestant religion was introduced, and established in the realm, the final and destructive blow was given to these institutions, which had so many ages continued a succor and refuge for rogues and vagabonds. But to this very day, the yard or street before the abbey of Westminster is called *the Sanctuary*; which is all that remains of the antient establishment.

Torture, as we have observed in the beginning of this article, was sometimes used, though not for witness against the offender, but discovery of his accomplices.

Acts & Monuments,
V. 3. p. 865.

Ibid.

In the Lollards Tower
Act. Mon.
V. 3. p. 413.

Ibid. Vol. I.
pag. 723.

In Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. 3, page 865, we find that those accused of heresy were put upon the rack; which is composed of two rollers, at about nine or ten feet distant from each other, and between these rollers the man who is to suffer the torture is placed, and his hands made fast to two separate cords, which go round one roller, and his feet in like manner fastened to the other: then two men, one at each end, with levers, put into the holes for that purpose made in the rollers, draw the cords tight, extending and stretching out the limbs of the wretched sufferer in a most dreadful manner.—The cruel and heavy irons, also figured in that book, as well as the stocks and *gyves* (as they are called) in which so many resolute protestants were tormented, during the sharp tyranny of the Romish church, must make every humane man shudder with horror!—How many then, while that zealous bigot *Mary* sat upon the throne, sealed with their blood their love for a just and reasonable religion!—When we look on those horrid instruments of torture, how can we help crying out, Great God of mercies! what ideas must those men have had of thee, who thus could cruelly torment their fellow creatures, and teach others also so to do? What was become of that heavenly doctrine of Christ, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy? Could this escape them, if they sought for it? Their eyes must surely have been shut to all conviction, and their hearts devoid of every sense of humanity!

In the 20th plate of this volume, I have given some few specimens of this ecclesiastical tyranny. N^o. 11. of that plate, represents a poor man doing penance, at the command of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury.—There were several others underwent the same fate, because (says Fox, from whose book this figure is taken) they held certain lands of the see of Canterbury, by tenure of which they were obliged to furnish the archbishop's stable with hay, straw, and other litter: now this litter they had lately brought privately in sacks, and under their coats (and not in carts, as they used and ought to do) for which so heinous an offence, and horrible trespass, he, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did greatly threaten them with excommunication, and dreadful curses! “They craving pardon of their trespass, the archbishop absolved them, on their swearing to obey the lawes and ordinances of the holy church, and to do the punishment which should be appointed them for their offence:—that is, they should go leisurely before the procession, every one of them carrying openly, on his shoulder, his bag stuffed with hay and straw, in such manner that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out of the mouths of the sacks, which were left open for that purpose.”—Over the print (which we are informed was copied from one of the original figures,

figures, as painted in the archbishop's own register) Fox hath put these lines :—

This bag full of straw, I beare on my backe,
Because my lordes horse his litter did lacke;
If ye be not good to my lord graces horse,
Ye are like to go bare foot before the crosse.

N^o. 10. of the same plate, is a man (James Bainham) doing public A&M^{on} penance at St. Paul's cross, after he had recanted from his heresies (as the V. 2. p. 300⁺ Christian-like priests called the protestant tenets). He stood there bare-foot in his shirt, bearing upon his left shoulder a faggot,* and in his right hand a taper of a pound weight, before the pulpit, on a stage erected for that purpose; while the priest above made his sermon to the people.

N^o. 8. is another poor protestant, whom, with tortures and threatnings, they had forced to belie his conscience, and declare that he recanted from his errors. He (because perhaps he might have been more obstinate) is handled in a severer manner than the former: he was obliged to go almost naked (except only a sort of canvas breeches about his loins). In his hand he carries a taper of a pound weight, and behind the somner following, administers the cruel discipline.—but others were much more dreadfully treated: for them that force and torment could not prevail with to alter their opinion, they were delivered over to the mercy of the flames. Ibid. Vol. 1. pag. 866.

Some few were hanged before they were burnt, and others, when they were hanged, were so left, as public spectacles, till they dropped to pieces. The manner of hanging them for that purpose, is to be seen plate 20, fig. 9; they had first an iron hoop put round their bodies, with a strong chain, which was made fast to the gibbet, but yet in such manner that it might not support the criminal before the halter (which was made so much shorter) should be cut, or broke; then the body could not fall to the ground, but the iron hoop slipped up to the arm-pit, and so it hung until it was quite consumed. Ibid. Vol. 2. pag. 302.

Since the time of dismembering, loosing the ears in the pillory, and other severe inflictions of like kind, hanging and transporting have been the most usual method of punishment for capital crimes, except indeed amongst the nobility, who are generally beheaded; though (as in the reign of our late king) the earl of Ferrers, for the murder of his steward, was publickly hanged at Tyburn. The letter of the law to this very day, I believe, condemns a woman, who doth murder her husband, to be burnt alive, but the sentence is always mitigated, for they are first strangled. In the case of Catherine Hayes (who, for the murder of her husband, some few years ago, was adjudged to suffer death at the stake) the intention was first to strangle her; but as they used at that time to draw a rope which was fastened round the culprit's neck, and came through a staple of the stake, but at the very moment that the fire was put to the wood which was set around, the flames sometimes reached the offenders before they were quite strangled:—just so it happened to her; for the fire taking quick hold of the

* This same penance was assigned to two merchants of the Stillyard, in the 17th year of Henry the Eighth, for eating flesh on a Friday.—Hall's Union, in the life of Hen. VIII. fol. 146.

the wood, and the wind being brisk, blew the smoke and blaze so full in the faces of the executioners, who were pulling at the rope, that they were obliged to let go their hold before they had quite strangled her; so that, as I have been informed by some there present, she suffered much torment before she died.— But now they are first hanged at the stake until they are quite dead, and then the fire is kindled round, and the body burnt to ashes.

Char. Lond. The punishment of bakers or myllars (says the Old London Chronicle)
Artic. 85. *stelyng passe or mele is to be drawn upon a hyrdel.*

Survey of And says Stow, I have read, that in the fourth year of Edward the second,
Lond. 165. Richard Reffeham being mayor, a baker, named John of Stratford, for making bread less than the assize, was, with a fool's hood on his head, and loaves of bread about his necke, drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the city of London.

Pier. Plow-
man Passus
Tertius.

Thus writes the old poet, author of the Visions of Pierce Plowman:

Waytes and massers, that meanes be betwene
The kynge and the common, to kepe the lawes
To punyssh on pylaries, and pynnyng stoles
Butlers and bakesters, bouchers and cokes
For these are men on this mould, that most harm wo:keth
To the poore people, that parcell meale byghe, &c.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
marked 913.

And the same complaint I find in a poem of still antienter date than the above, (being as early as the time of Edward the first at least) the author in a sort of ballad, exposes the deceit used in several crafts and professions;—take the three following verses:

Hail be ye bakeys, with yur lobis smale,
Of white bred and of blake, ful mani and fale
Ye pinchet on the rigt wigt, agens goddes laws,
To the fair pillori ich rede you take hede,
This vers is wrowgte so welle,—that no tung i wis may telle.
Hail be ye brewesters, wich your galuns,
Pottles, and quartes, ober al the tonnes,
Yur thowines bryth moch awai, schame hab the gyle,
Beth i war of the cocking stole, the lak is dep hori,
Sikerlich he was a clezk,—that so seilich wrowhte this weike.
Hail be ye hokesters, dun bi the lake.
With candles and golokes, and the pottes blak,
Trips and kine fete, and schepen hebedes,
With the hori tromcheri hori is yuze inne,
He is sozi of his lif,—that is fast to such a wif, &c.

But

But Lidgate is still more severe, in a fragment of one of his ballads, preserved in the Harleian library. Take the last verse. MS. Infig. 2255.

Let mellerys and bakerys gadre hem a gilde,
 & alle of assente, make a fraternite,
 Under the pillory a litel chapell bylde,
 The place a moztreyre, & purchase liberte,
 For alle tho that of thez nombze be,
 What evir it cost assitir that they wende
 They may clemne be just autorite,
 Upon that Bastile to make on ende.

In the year 1383, the 7th of Richard the Second, (says Stow) the citizens of London first imprisoned such women as were taken in fornication, or adultery, in the Tunn (*a prison at Cornhill*) and after caused them to be brought forth in the sight of the world: they caused their heads to be shaven, after the manner of thieves, whom they named *appellators*, and so to be led about the city, in sight of all inhabitants, with trumpets and pipes sounding before them, that their persons might be more largely known. Neither did they spare the men (so caught in the above crimes) in the least, but used them very hardly. Survey of Lond. p. 207.

Then the same author relates the punishment of a priest taken in adultery. I saw (says he) his punishment to be thus:—He was on three market days conveyed through the high street and markets of the city, with a paper on his head, wherein was written his trespass. The first day he rode in a carry; the second on a horse, his face to the horse's tail; the third he walked, led between twain, and every day rung with basons, and proclamations made of his fact, at every turning of the streets:—he also lost his chauntrie, and was banish'd the city for ever. Ibid. 208.

Pirates, and robbers upon the sea, were (by the court of admiralty) condemned to be hanged on the sea shore, at low water mark, where they were left hanging until three tides had overwash'd them. Description of Britain, pag. 108.

If the following custom (which the author seems only to report on hear-say) be true, it must indeed have been dreadfully severe, however heinous the offence certainly must be.—“Such as having wals, and bankes neere to the sea, and doe suffer the same to decay (after convenient admonition) wherby the water entreth and drowneth up the country: are by a certayne custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breache, where they remain for ever as parcell of the foundation of the newe wall that is to be made upon them (as I have hard reported).” Ibid.

Certain Acts and Laws against Pedlars, &c.

In the 4th year of Edward the Third, an act was made against forestallers and pedlars. The condition of this act is, that no *merchants strangers*, as *galymen* Vid. Act temp. E. 3. et MS. in Bib. Harl. 2252.

galymen and others, shall sell any ware, but such as is lawful for them. As the *galymen* shall sell no manner of Flanders ware; but only such wares as cometh out of their own native country. Neither shall they go about to towns, boroughs and villages, offering their ware to sell, to the prejudice of other merchants, the king's subjects; and if any such be taken, for the first time he is convicted, he shall be *amerced*; the second time to abide the judgment of the pillory, and to forfeit all such ware as he shall have with him; the third time he shall be *imprisoned*; and the fourth time made to forswear the town.—The same punishment shall be also assigned to all *forestallers*, and also to them who, either with aid or counsel, are assisting or abetting with them.

Ordynances of the Cete of London.

MS. in Bib. Harl. 2252. Hyt ys ordayned that the patrones, of the galye, shall kepe there howses, & there doores shutte at the ryngyng of Cobrete of Berkyng Chyrche; and that they ne any of theyr felowshyppe be wanderynge abroad; & that they shall in no wyse make retaylyngge within the cete of Londone.

Ibid.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, the foreign merchants offered their humble petitions to the king, complaining that they were not permitted to vend their wares within the city of London, in such places and in such manner as they had been accustomed. The king received their petition graciously, and sent his letters to the mayor and sheriffs of London, desiring them that they would, for the time limited within the said letters, permit the *galymen* and stranger merchants to vend their goods;—"seying" (says he) "that they be come so ferre wyth theyr merchaundyse, and have (as they say) paid the custumes for the same, we desyre ye wyll, for thys season, suffyre them to make sale of theyr said merchaundyse, as they have don of tyme passyd; gevyng unto them a certeyne tyme and season to make their saide utteraunce; and they not to passe or exceede the same; and that ye wyll thus do at thys tyme, yn avoydyng the clamacions, and daly pursute that they make unto us yn this behalf," &c.—And further, by the same letters it was ordained, that they (the *galymen*, &c.) should keep in such shops as they were accustomed to occupy in the city, the which were set apart on purpose for them, and under great penalty not to offer their wares, on any consideration, in any other places than those so appointed.

Yet it should appear that they often abused this privilege, and used not only to set such their goods to sale at London, but in various other parts of the kingdom: for some time after, I find a petition exhibited to the same king (Henry the Seventh) and his parliament, in the name of the English *merciers*, *grocers*, *drapers*, *goldsmithes*, *skynners*, *haberdassers*, *taylers*, *ledyr sellers*, *pursers*, *poynt-makers*, *glovers*, *pouche-makers*, *sadlers*, *cutlers*, *pewterers*, *cowpers*, *gyrdlers*, *founders*, *cordweners*, *wyhtners*, *sporyars*, *joyners*, &c. against grete multytude of nedy pepulle estraungers, as *Frenchemene*, *Galymene*, *Pysatds*, *Elemyngs*, *Keterycks*, *Spaynyars*, *Scatts*, *Lumbards*, &c. who, by their unlawful dealing by retail, and continual hawking throughout the whole kingdom, ruined

OF THE ENGLISH.

ruined the natives. Their petition was, by the king and parliament, properly taken into consideration, and the following statute was the result:—

“ The kyng our soverayne lord, by the advice and assente of the lordys spiritual, and temporal, at the prayer of the seyde commons hys subjectes, in the feyde perliament assemblyd, and by the auctorite of the same, hath ordeyned, and prevydyd, that no merchaunts straungers, after the feaste of Easter, now nexte comyng, shal bryng into the realme of Yngland to be sould, any mans gyrdylles; nor eny barrys wroughte for gyrdylles; paynts; laces of lede; pursyes; powches; pynnes; glovys; knyvyss; hangers; taylor sberys; sesars, and yrens; cobords; tonges; fyre forks; gyrdyrenes, gyrdyrenes stockes; cocks; keyes; bynges; garnets; sporys; paynted paper; paynted focers; paynted ymages; paynted clothes; any betyn golde, or betyn silver, wrought in paper for payntes; sadylls; sadyll trees; horse barneys; bouch byttes; storoppes; bokelles; chaynes; latyn nayles, with yren shankes; currets; standyng candlestickes; hangyng candylstyckes; holy water scoppers; chasyng dysbes; hangyng lavers; curten rynges; (cardys for woole, excepte and rone cardys) claspes for gloves; bokelles for shoyes (shoes); beltes (excepte beltes for hawkes); spones of tynn, and lede; cheynes of wyre, as well laten, as of silver; grates; bures; lanterne bornes; or any of these forseyd warys rede made, and wroughte, perteyneng to the seyde craftes above specified, or any of them; upon peyne of forfetyng of all the wares so broughte into thys realme, so it be contrary to this acte; or the valew of them, in whose handes they or any of them shal be founde; the one half of such fynes, forfayture, and penaltes, and eche of them be unto the kyng, our soveraigne lorde; and that othir half to be unto hym, or them of the kinges subjectes, the whyche shal seaze the same,” &c.

Hence we may see, that the trade carried on by these retailing foreign pedlars and hawkers must have been very extensive, to have given cause of complaint to so many different callings.—At the present time indeed, many of the above crafts, or trades, appear as insufficient for the proper support of the tradesman: a *spur-maker*, a *pouch-maker*, a *purse-maker*, a *point-maker*, and a *glover*, one would imagine, must be at least all incorporated in one, to make up a comfortable subsistence for a man and his family; but yet, at that time, any one of them alone (until they were hurt by the pedlars, hawkers, and foreigners above complained of) were esteemed and known to be professions, by means of which such tradesmen might not only live extremely well, but also oftentimes amass very handsome fortunes.

There is not the least doubt, but that the trouble which the hawkers above-mentioned might take, was very well repaid; for afterwards people of our own nation, taking the hint, used also to travel, with such wares as were most wanted, about the country; which continued, and still continues in upland places, notwithstanding the complaints and outcries that have frequently been made by the country tradesmen in the towns and villages: and many of such itinerant merchants have often amassed great gains, especially such as could afford to take a great variety of goods about with them, and were industrious and civil in their profession. Of all others, the Scotch have met with the greatest

success; some of them have been known, from carrying the fardal on their backs, by degrees to have saved and raked up considerable fortunes.

Shipping and Marine Affairs.

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
mark'd 78.

In the Harleian library is a MS. entitled the Bible of English Policy, the author of which (who appears to have lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth) well advises in the following lines:

The trewe proceſſe of Englyſhe polery,
As towarde to kepe the realme in reſte
Of England, that no man maye denye,
The ſothe to ſay it ys one of the beſte
For them that ſaylen ſouthe, wyſte, northe, or weſte,
One ryſhe merchandyſe & keepe the anyſalte,
That we be maſters of the narrow ſtre.

The author then informs us, that the emperor Sigismund told king Henry the Fifth of the importance which the holding firmly the two ports of *Dover* and *Calais* would be to the nation; for, adds he (the emperor) I esteem it impossible for any other to be the master of the ocean, whilst you hold them in your own possession.—How far this may be true, I leave to the more able and experienced judges: but the keeping up a superior fleet, to check the neighbouring powers, is such excellent and sound policy, that I believe no man will be brought to speak against it.

It would be an endless task for me to enumerate all the brave and valiant exploits of the English navies, in this latter æra; I shall not therefore attempt it, but refer the curious reader to almost any chronicle or history of our own country, wherein he will find them fully recorded, to the eternal glory of the English name.*

I shall now add the following inventory of a ship and its furniture, as during the reign of Henry the Eighth; at the same time referring the reader to the ships represented plate 56, of the second volume; by comparing which with the present account, he may be better able to judge of both.

MS. in Bib.
Cotton. in-
fig. Query
Vitellius.

This is the inventory of the great barke *Vyenwyd*, by youre humble ſervant Christopher Morres, the 6 day of October, the 23 year of our ſoverayne king Henry the 8th.

Item in primus. the *ſhype* with one *overlop*†; Item the *fore caſtell*, and a cloos tymber *deck*, from the *maſt* forward, whyche was made of *laſt*. Item above the

* Thus much I think it my duty to inform the reader, that the noble and memorable action, performed by the English navy against the Spaniſh armada, in the 21ſt year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, is curiouſly wrought in tapeſtry, and now hung round the wall of the houſe of peers, at Weſtminiſter; engravings from which have been moſt accurately made.

† *overlop*, or *orlopp*, the deck.—Note, Theſe explanatory notes are from a MS. in the Harleian Library, mark'd 2301.

- the fore castell, a decke, from the mayne mast afterward : Item a nyew mayne mast of spruce,* with a nyew staye bound,† and skarvyd,‡ with the same wood ; whyche mast ys of length from the bounse, to the step, 25 yards ; the mayne mast, about the patnas, ys 23 hands about : Item a nyew mayne yaerd of spruce, of oon pece.
- Item the takyll, pertaynyng to the sayd mayne mast, 6 takells on a syd.
- Item 9 shrouds, and a backe staye on either syd.
- Item in all the sayd takylls, 6 shryvers§ of brasie ; that ys to saye 4 shryvers in their pennants, and two in the bowser takylls.
- Item a payer of tbyes|| and a payer of bayliards ; Item a gyver¶ with 2 brasyn shryvers ; Item the mayne parrel, with trussys, and 2 dryugbs ; Item 2 lyfts ;** Item two braesys ; Item two tregets ; Item a mayne kerse ; Item a bonnet†† hault worren, with sboutts, tacks, and bollyngs ; Item a new mayne top ; Item a top mast, and a top sayle, with all theyr apparrell.
- Item a mayne myssyn mast ; and a mayn myssyn yaerd, of spruce, of oon pece.
- Item a payer of bayliyaerds, and a tye, for the sayd mayne myssen yaerd : Item 5 shrouds on eyche syd ; Item a mayne myssen hault a top ; Item a mayne myssen sayle hault worren.
- Item a bonaventure mast ; with a yaerd of spruce, of oon pece ; with 3 shrouds on a syde. —Item a payer of bayliards : Item a tye, with hault a top. —Item a bonaventure sayle, sore worren.
- Item a foer mast, with 3 takylls, and 7 shroudys on a syd ; with a tye, and a payer of bayliards, with 4 brasyn shryvers : —Item a fore sayle yaerd, with the apparrells ; 2 trussys ; —Item 2 lyfts ; 2 braesys ; two top sayll sboutts ; 2 bollyngs : —Item a fore staye ; Item foer sayll sboutts ; 2 tacks suche as they be : —Item foer sayle koors, with 2 bonnetts, sore worren ; Item a foertop mast, with a yaerd, with sayles, and takyll pertaynyng to yt.
- Item a bowsprytt of ooke. —Item a sprytt sayle yaerd, skarvyd, with a sprytt sayle sore worren.
- Item 4 ankarrs, with 2 old cabulls : —and another old cabull, whyche they saye ys in the watar.
- Item towe katt bowks†† ; and two fysche bowks§§ ; —Item 4 pollys, with brasyn shryvers ; Item a snatche polly ; a luff boke||| : —Item 2 pollys, for the mayne top sayle ; Item 2 great dubbell pollys, with woddyn shryvers : —Item a great syngs polly, with a woddyn shryver ; —Item 17 pollys great and small ; —Item 4 kuyll of small ropys of raers stuff ; —Item 4 boye ropys, good and bad, a fynd of yeron

* A sort of firr so called.

† Bound round.

‡ Skarvyd, or scarf'd, one piece of timber let into another, in a firm joint.

§ Shryvers, or sheevers, the pulleys which run in the blocks, whether bras or wood.

|| Tbyes or ties, the ropes by which the yards do hang.

¶ Gyver, a block in which the sheevers run.

** Lyfts, ropes which belong to the yard armet.

†† Bonnet is belonging to another sail.

‡‡ Katt bowkes, or katt books, to fasten the anchor.

§§ Fyshe booke, belonging to the fysh, therefore so called.

|| Luff booke, a takell with 2 books.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

yeron* (*iron*);—Item a *shype kettell*, of 24 gallons;—Item a *pytche pott* of
brasse;—Item a *gryndyng stoen*;—Item a *crowe* of yeron;—Item a *pytche*
trouth.
Item a *pompe*, with 3 *boxys*; and 3 *pompe stauys*;—Item 3 *compasses*, and a
kennyng glass†;—Item 5 *lanternes*.
Item a great *boat* pertaynyng to the *shyppe*; with a *davyd*, with a *shyuer* of
brass;—Item XII *owers*, and a *schull*.

Hereafter followeth the *ordenans*, pertaynyng to the sayde *shype*.

Item inprimis, two brazyn pecys called *kannon pecyes*, on *stockyes*; which
wayith

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|----|--------|-----|----------------|----|-----|
| | C. | quart. | lb. | | C. | lb. |
| the one | 9 | 3 | 11 | } whole weight | 20 | 28 |
| the other | 10 | 1 | 17 | | | |

Item 2 payer of *shod rubeles*, nyew;—Item 2 *ladyng ladylls*;

Starbord Syde.

Item, oon port pece of yeron, cast with 2 *chambers*;—Item a port pece of
yeron, with oon *chamber*.—Item a *Spanyche slyng*, with on *chamber*.

Larbord Syde.

Item oon port pece, with 2 *chambers*;—Item another port pece, with oon
cheamber, whyche *chaember* was nat made for the sayd pece.

In the Forecastell.

Item a small *slyng*, with 2 *chaembers*; Item another pece of yeron with 2
chaembers, the oon broken.

Husbandry, and others Matters thereon depending.

MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.

Before the conquest, the king's tenants, who held their lands of the crown,
paid only victuals, wheat, oxen, sheep, hay, oats, &c. And a just note of
the quality and quantity of every man's possession was taken, and the ratement
made accordingly: and thus it continued till the reign of Henry the First, as
Vide vol. 2 we have already seen in the second volume of this work.—The incomes of
of this work, ready money, before his reign, were raised by mulcts, and out of cities and
pag. 79. castles, where agriculture was not used; but when the husbandmen complained
to Henry the First, he settled certain prices to be paid in money.

And

* A *fyd* of iron,—an instrument used for splicing ropes.
† *Kennyng glass*,—a *spy glass*, or *telescope*.

And though many of the succeeding kings, by very wholesome and just laws, sought to encourage and promote the cultivation of land, and protect the husbandmen, yet that, after all, such culture was much neglected, the many cruel and dreadful dearths of corn, recorded in our annals, may sufficiently evince; and all the acts made in the various reigns (as exhibited in the second Vol. 2, p. 79¹ volume of this work) were by no means sufficient to put an effectual stop to the ravages of famine. Amongst the other reasons heretofore given, it may not be amiss to add, that those pests to all societies, *forebidders* of markets, and holders up of corn, had often great share in the cause of these destructive scarcities; and that they swarmed at those early periods in the realm, appears very certain, from the numerous acts and proclamations against them. Ibid. p. 80¹

Amongst the various methods taken to prevent the scarcities of bread corn, one made use of in the year 1630, the 5th of Charles the First, must (I dare say) have produced a very happy effect:—namely, That no millers were permitted to buy and lay up corn, to sell out at the markets, when ground, at great and exorbitant prices; but all who had mills were constrained to employ them in grinding for the farmers, householders, &c. at reasonable rates, or by taking a certain toll allow'd upon such occasions:—for before this act, the millers (those especially who were rich, and could afford to keep a stock of corn by them) would by no means grind the grain for the housekeepers, as it was brought to their mills, but obliged them to buy the meal of them, at whatever price they chose to set upon it, which (especially in winter, or in consequence of a bad season) was attended with extraordinary charges; by which means the corn, which they had purchased in the plentiful seasons, and laid up, produced extravagant gains; and by which means (unchristianlike means) the poor were often reduced to the last extremities.—But the lamentable cries of the wretched, if not unheard, were generally unregarded. Proclamat. printed 28th Sept. 1630.

With singular pleasure I here mention, to the lasting honour of the present age, that few instances can be produced, of larger or more charitable contributions being made, than what we have heard of this very winter, on account of the severity and inclemency of the season. Great were the sums collected, and many the poor and destitute, whose heavy distresses and wretchedness were by these noble, these christianlike donations, relieved and comforted.

Hard must be that man's heart, and devoid of all humanity, who can indifferently look on the sufferings and wants of his fellow-creatures, whilst with cruel hand, he infamously, for his own private ends, withholds from them the blessings that they crave—the staff of human life.

In the year 1630, as before mentioned, by proclamation, it was not only strictly ordered that no wheat should be made into malt, but that “no graine meete for bread, to feede men, be wasted and consumed in stufte called starch.”—Any one who takes notice of the monstrous ruffs, cuffs, and other starch'd linen attire, as represented in the habits of that time, will not wonder at this act being necessary for the preservation of the grain (wheat especially) of which starch was principally made.

Stow informs us, that in the year 1285, it was ordained that millers should have but one halfpenny for a quarter of wheat grinding; and so the price increased as the value of money was less, or the grain cheaper or dearer: but
Survey of Lond. 546.
of

Affize of
Breade.

Of the poor people, that by gleaning, or otherways, might be possessed of small quantities of corn (and who could not pay in money for the grinding) a certain toll or portion of the meal, to the value allow'd, was deducted. This toll about 30 years ago, as taken in some of the country mills, was 1½lb. in the peck; which, allowing for loss in boultting, was valued at 1d. bran and all: at this rate the quarter of wheat grinding will be 2s. 8d.—In ancient time, the meal was by the bakers sifted through sieves, no other method of taking the bran from it being then invented: but I find by the wood cuts given in an old book, called “The Affize of Bread,” that the hand boultting mill was in use in the 16th century; but as yet it was not become the miller’s business to make the flour, the bakers always having their own boultting mills for that purpose. But in the 17th century, sundry rich millers caused boultting mills to be set up, which went with horses; others had them also turn’d by hand; either of which sort I myself well remember:—but at last, by some ingenious mill-wright, these boultting mills were contrived to be turned either by wind or water, as the grinding mills themselves might be, within which they were set up; and when the poor people brought their wheat to be ground, and required of the miller to boult it also, he then exacted the bran for his trouble.

Affize of
Bread print:
at London,
1638.

A great step to the relief of the poor, was to affize the profits to be gained by the bakers; which profits were ascertained by the king’s bakers, and allowed to them, be the grain at what price it would. We have already seen the allowance made in the reign of Henry the Third (vol. 2, pag. 81, and 82). The next assay made was in the reign of his son, Edward the First, as set down in the old Book of Affize (which hath relation to the statute of Henry the Third above-mentioned). The baker was then allow’d

| | s. | d. |
|------------------------|----|----|
| For Growt and furning | 0 | 3 |
| Wood | 0 | 3 |
| The journey man | 0 | 3½ |
| Two pages or prentizes | 0 | 1½ |
| Salt | 0 | 0½ |
| Yeast | 0 | 0½ |
| Candles | 0 | 0½ |
| His ty-dog | 0 | 0½ |
| And his bran | | |
| In all | 1 | 1 |

Anno 1495, the 12th of Henry the Seventh, as the Book of Affize witnesseth, when the best wheat was sold at 7s. the second at 6s. 6d. and the third at 6s. per quarter, the baker was allow’d,

| | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|
| For Furnace and wood | 0 | 6 |
| The miller | 0 | 4 |
| Two journeymen and two apprentices | 0 | 5 |
| Salt, yeast, candle, and sack-bands | 0 | 2 |
| Himself, his house, his wife, his dog, his cat, &c. | 0 | 7 |
| And the bran to his advantage | | |
| | 2 | 0 |

And

And the 2d of June, 1592, the 34th of queen Elizabeth, it was presented by a jury near London, before the clerk of the market of her majesty's household, that when the best wheat was at 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* the second at 18*s.* 8*d.* the third at 16*s.* the quarter, the bakers should have allow'd unto them for the baking a quarter of flour (in and near London) 6*s.* 10*d.* which was then allow'd by the said clerk of the market to be so, in regard of the great charges and prices of every thing, which was then more than in former times, the said allowance being made as followeth :

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| For Fewel | — | — | — | — | s. | d. |
| Two journeymen and two boys | — | — | — | — | 0 | 6 |
| Yeast | — | — | — | — | 1 | 8 |
| Candles and salt | — | — | — | — | 1 | 0 |
| Himself, his wife, children, and house-rent | — | — | — | — | 0 | 4 |
| The miller's toll | — | — | — | — | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | 1 | 4 |
| | | | | | 6 | 10 |

Yet this allowance of 6*s.* 10*d.* was afterwards reduced to 6*s.* 4*d.* respectively, as in the Epistle to the last Book of Affize, directed to all magistrates and others his majesty's officers, is at large express'd: the which allowance of 6*s.* 4*d.* was for a long time afterwards continued.—Here it is to be observed, that bread made in the country was obliged to be two ounces heavier in the penny loaf, than bread baked in the city.

Ye shall understand (says Stow) that of old time bakers of bread at *Stratford* were allow'd to bring daily (except Sundays and the principal festivals) divers long carts laden with bread (the same being two ounces in the penny wheaten loaf heavier than the penny wheaten loaf baked in the city) the same to be sold in the *Cheape*, three or four carts standing there, between *Gutherans-lane* and *Fousters-lane* end, one cart on *Cornhill* by the conduit, and one other in *Gracechurch-street*. But (adds he) these bakers of *Stratford* left serving this city (I know not upon what occasion) above forty years since.

The figures of the bread, as anciently made, are exhibited plate 20, from fig. 1 to 7 inclusive:—1. the farthing wastell; 2. the farthing symnel; 3. the farthing white loaf; 4. the halfpenny white loaf; 5. the halfpenny wheaten loaf; 6. a penny wheaten loaf; 7. a halfpenny household loaf.—In the book intituled *Rules for affizing Bread*, printed 1699, I find the following notes concerning the wastell, the cocket, and the symnel, &c.

Rules for
affizing of
Bread print.
at Dublin,
an. 1699.

Wastell bread, in Latin *libum*, which signifies a cake; some interpret it to be a cake made with honey, or a cake made with meal and oil, and some others a wafer. Edmund Wingate, in his *Abridgments of the Statutes*, calls it a sort of small bread out of use. It is left out of the affize of queen Elizabeth's reign.

Cocket bread, called in Latin *panis secundarius*, is bread made of flour of a less price than the wastell, and should weigh more by two ounces; this is also called white bread, and was continually affizable.

The *symnel*, called by the Latins *collyra*, and by Plaut. *panis genus in cineribus cocti*; by others a cracknell, a sop or sippet, and by the statute itself *bread twice baked*, was a sort of small cake made in former times:—"And we (says he) had some very lately made in Dublin, in form of a cup or small porringer, of a hard and brickle nature; which answers very exactly the word cracket, and very fit for a sop or sippet, when filled with good ale, &c. and those who sold it in the streets called it *symnel* cakes."

So far my author:—but his description, and the form as represented plate 20, fig. 2, do not in the least agree; there it seems only a kind of long cake, like the French roll of the present time. This was also out of the affize.

There was besides, bread of *trete*, or over-weight, and some other sorts, the names of which explain themselves.

But in the reign of queen Elizabeth, there were only, by law appointed, three sorts of bread, namely, White, Wheaten, and Household; which sorts continue to be made to this day.

Bp of Ely's
Treatise,
fo. 217, 219,
220.
MS. in Bib.
Harl. 980.
Before I conclude this article, I shall take notice of the permissions anciently granted by the church, in time of harvest, to the husbandmen:—The catholic church, for more than 500 years after Christ, permitted labour, and gave licence to many christian people to work on the Lord's day, at such hours as they were not commanded to be present at the public service, by the precept of the church; and in Gregory the Great's time, it was reputed anti-christian doctrine to make it a sin to work upon the Lord's day: but in after-times, both in the east and west, in France and Great Britain, as well in the days of the Saxons as Danes, rural works and labour, with other civil and secular negotiations, were prohibited and restrained upon the Lord's day, and upon other festival days.

Proclamat.
an. 20 Eliz.
6.
In the reign of queen Elizabeth, by proclamation, all parsons, vicars, and curates, were enjoined to teach and declare unto the people, that they might with safe and quiet consciences (after the common prayer) in time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the things which God had sent them: for if, by any groundless scruples of conscience, they should abstain from working upon those days, that they should grievously offend and displease God, if the grain were thereby lost or damaged.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. 2, p. 290.
I can't help here remarking, that at the first beginning of the reformation, under Henry the Eighth, the poor people, and ignorant, imputed every misfortune that happened in the realm to the departure of their priests: thus, in the old ballad of Truth and Ignorance, the latter, who is represented by a country bumpkin, says

Chill tell thee what, good vellowe,
Before the vriers went hence,
A bushell of the best wheate
Was zold vor vourteen pence;
And vorty egges a penny,
That were both good and newe;
And this che zay myself have zeene,
And yet ich am no Jewe.

Nor were they readily persuaded out of their opinion, till custom reconciled them to the alteration.

Some

Some Collections relative to the different Trades & Occupations, &c.

We have already rehearsed some few verses (page 48, of this vol.) respecting the bakers, brewers, &c.—Take the following stanzas of that old poem there mentioned: MS. in the Harl. Lib. marked 913.

Hail, be ye merchans With yur gret packes
Of draperie, avoir de poise, & yur wol sackes.
Gold, silber, stones riche, markes a ek pundes,
Litil gibe ye therof to the wrech pover;
Sleigh he was & ful of witte,—That this lore put in writte.
Hail be ye tailleurs, with your scharpe schores,
To make wezyngge hodes, ye kuttith lome gores,
Agens midwinter hote beth yur neldes,
Tho yur semes semith fair,—ai lessith little while.
The clezke that this basson wrowgte,—Wel he wake & slepe righte nowgte,
Hail be ye sutlers, with your mani lestes,
With your bloye hides of selcuth bestis,
And tables & traifules, bochvampe & alces,
Blak & lothlich beth yur teth, hozi has that route:
Is this bassun well ithigte,—Ech word him lit be aigte.
Hail be ye skinnerz, with yure dranche kibe,
Who so smillith this, to wo is him alibe;
Whan that this thonnezith, ye mote thezein s—e
Da theit yur curteisie, ye stinketh al the stete.
Worth hit wer that he wer King,—That diied this tye thing.
Hail be ye potters, with your bole ar,
Fair beth yur bazmhazres, yelow beth yur far,
He stondich at the schamil, brod ferlich beznes,
Fleis you solowith ye swoolowith y now;
The best clezk of al this tun,—crafeullich makid this bassun.

I have also added the following ballad of John Lidgate, which gives a perfect picture of London, in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He here shows forth a poor man, who came up to town to make a complaint of some wrongs he had sustained, seeking redress. It is intituled *The London Lyckpeny*. MS. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 367.

I.
To London once my steppes i bent,
Where trowth in no wyse should be saynt;
To Westmynster ware i forthwith went,
To a man of law to complaynt;
I sayd for Maries love (that holy saynt)
Pyty the poore, that wold procede;
Bnt for lacke of mony, i cold not spede.

2.

And as i thrust the presse amonge,
 By srowarde chaunce my hood was gone,
 Yet for all that i staid not longe,
 Till at the Kynge Bench i was on,
 Before the iudge i kneled anone,
 And prayd him for Goddes sake to take herde;
 But for lacke of mony, i myght not spede.

3.

Bereth them set clerkes a gret rout,
 Whych fast dyd wyte, by one assent;
 Thre stode up one, & cryed aboute
 Rycharde, Robert, & John of Kent;
 I wist not well what this man ment,
 He cryed out thysse, there in dede;
 But he that lackt mony, myght not spede.

4.

Unto the comon place, i yode thow
 Where sat one wyth a sylken hode;
 I dyd hym reuerence (for i ought to do so)
 & told my case there, as well as i coude,
 Howe my goodes were defaured me by fals hood;
 I gat not a move of his mouthe for my mede,
 & for lacke of mony, i myght not spede.

5.

Unto the Rolls, i gat me from thence,
 Before the clarkes of the Gauncerye,
 Where many i found raryng of pense,
 But none at all once regarded mee;
 I gave them my playnt uppon my knee,
 They lyked it well, when thay had it read,
 But lackyng of mony, i could not spede.

6.

In Westmynster Halle, i founde out owne,
 Whiche went in a longe gown of raye;
 I crouched, & kneled, before hym anon,
 For Maryes love of help, i hym praye;
 I wot not what thou meanest, gan he saye,
 To get me thence he dyd me bede,
 For lack of money i could not spede.

7.

Within the halle, neyther ryche nor yet pore
Would do for me oughte, altho i shoulde dye,
Which seing i gat me oute of the doore,
Where Flemynge began on me for to crie,
Wasser what will you copen or by?
Fine felt hattes, or spectacles to rede;
Lay down your sylber, & here you may spede.

8.

Then to Westmynster gate i presently went,
When the sun it was at hygh pryme,
& cokes to me they tooke good entent,
& preseyed me bread, with ale & wyne,
Kydds of befe both fat, and ful fyne;
A sayre cloth they gan for to spede,
But wanting-mony, i myght not be spede.

9.

Then unto London i dyde me hye,
Of all the land it bearyeth the pryle,
God pefcode own began to crie,
Straberij rype, & cherries in the ryle;
Own bad me draue nere, & by some spyrce
Peper, & safforne, they gan me bede,
But for lacke of mony i myghte not spede.

10.

Then to the Chepe, i gane me drawne,
Where mutch people i sawe for to stande,
One ofred me velbet, sylke, & lawne;
An other he takes me by the hande,
Here is Warys thred, the fynest in the lande;
I never was used to such thynges in dede,
& wantyng mony, i myght not spede.

11.

Then went i forth by London ston,
Througout all Dantwyke streete,
Drapers much cloth me ofred anone,
Then comes in one cryed hot shes fete,
One kypde makerell; pefen grene, an other gan greeke,
On bad me by a hoode, to cober my heade,
But for want of money i might not spede.

Then

12.

Then i hyed me unto Eschepe,
 Down cyles rybbes of befe, & many a pye;
 Pewter pottes, they scattered on a hepe,
 There was harpe, pype, & mynstrelle;
 Pea by cock, nay by cock, some began crye,
 Some songe of Jenken, & Julyan for there mede,
 But for lacke of money i myght not spede.

13.

Then i into Cornhill anon i yode,
 Where was mutch stolen geere, amonge
 I saw where honged myne owne hode,
 That i had lost amonge the thronge;
 To by my own hode, i thought it wronge.
 I knew it well as i dyd my crede,
 But for lacke of mony i coulde not spede.

14.

The taberner tooke me by the sleve,
 Syr sath he wyll you ower wyne assaye,
 I answered that can not mutch me greve,
 A peny can do no more than yt maye;
 I dranke a pynte, & for yt did paye,
 Yet soze a hungered from thence i yede,
 & wantyng mony i colde not spede.

15.

Then hyed i me to Welyngsgate,
 And owne cyled hos, -- go we hence;
 I prayd a barge man for Gods sake,
 That he would spare me my expence,
 Thon scapst not here quoth he, under 2 pence;
 I list not yet bestowe my almes dede,
 Thus lackyng mony i coulde not spede.

16.

Then i conbayd me into Kent,
 For of the law wold i medle no more,
 Because no man to me tooke entent,
 I dyght me to do, as i dyd before.
 Now Jesus that in Bethlehem was born
 Save London, & send tiew lawyers there mede,
 For whoso wants money wyth them shall not spede.

Explicit London Lyckpeny.

The

The reader will be pleased to notice, that where he talks of *byeing* to London (verse 8.) from Westminster, that at that time London and Westminster were not joined together, as they are now, but were two distinct cities, the Strand being entirely bare of houses. We may yet observe, that the churches of *St. Martin* and *St. Giles* had added to them "*in the Fields*;" but how improperly they now retain that addition to their names, need not be insisted upon.

Domestic Affairs.

In the reign of king Henry the Eighth, at which time luxury and grandeur was so much affected, and appearances of state and splendour carried to such lengths, we may conclude that their household furniture and domestic necessaries were also carefully attended to: on passing through their houses we may expect to be surprized at the neatness, elegance, and superb appearance of each room, and the suitableness of every ornament; but herein we may be deceived. The taste of elegance amongst our ancestors was very different from the present, and however we may find them extravagant in their apparel, excessive in their banquets, and expensive in their trains of attendants, yet follow them home, and within their houses you shall find their furniture is plain and homely,—no great choice, but what was useful, rather than any for ornament or show.

Begin we with the Gentleman.—In the Cotton library, amongst some miscellaneous papers preserved from the fury of the flames, is one small tract extant, which by the hand appears to have been written early in the reign of Henry the Eighth: it is there called "An inventorye of all the goodes and cattells, late Richarde Fermers in the manor of Estone.—This Mr. Richard Fermer, tho' I find no account of him in history, was, as may be seen from his large possessions, a gentleman of great wealth and distinction, and had, adjoining to his mansion, "a large parke with all sortes of deer therein."—Let us first, in our progress, enter his hall; and there we find,

MS. in a
Bundle
mark. Query
Vitellius,

First a pece of tapstre, hanging at the heyght dese;*
Item thre tables, with formes and tressylls, mortised in the ground; Item a hawkes perche.

The furniture of the hall being thus set forth, we will next enter the "*perlor*."

First the seyde perlor celyd † with wenskett;—Item a fayr table; two tressylls, —three joyned formes,—a littell plaine cubbarde,—2 turnyde chaires,—three lyttell chaires for women,—and four foote stooles;—Item 6 cushins of tapstre, with armes in the myddes,—an olde carpet upon the borde, of Turkye sayestryde,

* The word *dese*, or, as it is sometimes written, *dees*, in Latin *desus*, doth properly signify a canopy over the high table; but here I apprehend it may mean the chief seat, or bench, at the upper end of the hall, which, by the way of distinction, was here covered at the back with tapestry.

† Celyd here doth not respect the top of the room, but means only that the sides were covered with wainscot.

strypyde, 2 lyttell carpettes for cubberdes,—one of Turkye makynge, the other of tapstre :—Item in the chimney two awndirons,*—wythe a fyer forke :—Item hanginge about the saide perlor on the seilinge, two tables;† one the picture of Lucreffe,—the other of Mary Maudeleine. Item a payer of tables ;—*these were backgammon tables.*

Thus finished the inventory of the parlour ;—leaving the rooms of less consequence, let us pass on to the “greate chamber, over the perlor.”

Furst three large peeces of tapstre, of imagery ;—Item a trussinge bedde of wenskotte, with cellar, and tester, painyde with blacke velvet, and yellowe bandkin ; with curtains of blacke, and changeable persnet ;—Item a coverlet of tapstre, of imagery, lynyd with canvas ; a bedde of downe, with a matterys ; under the same bedde a paire of fustians ; 2 blankettes ; 2 pylowes ; and 2 bolsters ;—Item a cupberde of wenskotte ; one turnyde chaire, with a cushin of verder ;—3 curtains of blue buckerom, for 3 windowes, which be celyd with wenskotte.

Before we leave the lodging rooms, let us see the plain furniture of “Maister Fermers owne chamber.”

Item v peces of newe tapstre, *about the chamber* ;—Item a testor, and celor of white lynyn clothe ;—Item a fetherbedde ; a standyng beddestede ; a matterys ; a payre of fustion blankettes ; a paire of shetes ; a Spanishe happer ; a quilte of yellow farsnet ;—Item two turnyde chaires ; one cushyn ; and a cubbarde ; with three chests containing various articles of cloths, bed furniture, &c.

From hence it may not be amiss to pass into the offices, and there examine one of the upper servants lodging.

Item, an olde hangynge stainyde, *round the room* ; Item a bedstede, a fetherbedde, a bolster, a pair of shetes ; 3 blankets, a coverlet of olde tapstre, a testor of redd saye.—But for the lower servants and attendants, I find but a matteres, a paire of shetes, and an old coverlet ; whilst those who were still under them in office, were obliged to take up with the “materes, a bolster, and a covering only.”

Thus have we seen the chief furniture and ornaments of a gentleman's house ; we will now pass on to the cellar, where I find a puncheon of Frenche wine, and a hoggeshed of white wine, both abroach.—Go we now to the ketchyn, and examine there.

Inprimis, 17 newe platters of the shallowe fassyon ;—Item 16 platters of the olde fassyon ;—Item 11 dyskes of all sortes ;—a charger, and a platter ;—
Item

* In the country these *awndirons* are used to this day, and are called *cobb irons* ; they stand on the hearth, where they burn wood, to lay it upon ; their fronts are usually curved, with a large round knobb at the top ; some of them are kept polished and bright, anciently many of them were embellished with variety of ornaments.

† *Tables*, a word constantly used in ancient times for pictures, perhaps because they were painted on flat boards.

Item 16 porengers;—8 saucers of the olde fassyon;—Item a dosen new sawcers;—Item a greate brasse pottle, a lesse pott, and a lytell pott;—a great kettill;—3 brasse pannes, of a myddle syse;—3 small posnetts;—a chaffer, and 2 chaffing dishes, one after the silver fassyon;—one ladle;—a gret stone mortar;—a lytell spyce mortar, with a pestyle of ierne (*iron*);—2 gret racks of ierne, and a small paire;—un spytte;—a paire of pott hookes;—3 hangers of ierne, for pottes to hang on;—two trevetts of ierne;—a fyer forke of ierne;—a tankarde;—a fryenge panne;—a clew of ierne;—a great owdde bowle;—a paile;—a grate for brede;—a dressinge border;—a cestorne of lede with a coke.

From hence let us pass to the brew-house, and see the utensils there; and that the more especially, because at the end of this article I mean to treat of the ancient method of brewing of beer. The utensils are,

Inprimus a messhe fatt;—Item a great ledde;—Item a brasse panne, set in the walle (*this was doubtless the copper for boiling the wort*);—Item 6 wort leeds, callyd coolars; Item a great clinge fatt, with 2 other fattes; and other tubbes, and kimnelles.

In the Bake-house.

Inprimus. A knedinge trough;—a boulting huche;—a kneading kimnelle;—a bushell;—a moulding board;—6 meal tubbes, &c.

Over and above what has already been mentioned of bed furniture in the lodging rooms, I find mention made of down pillowes, pillow beres, and blanketts of woollen, with coverings of white fryse.—Now, to conclude, we will examine this gentleman's service of plate, which indeed is not very large.

Imprim. A bason and ewer percel (or half) gylte;—Item 2 saltes, with covers gilt;—Item 5 ale potts with covers gylte;—Item 4 goblettes without covers gylte;—Item 16 spones, white;—Item 2 flate booles, one lacking a cover, gylte;—Item a peper boxe, gylte;—Item a chalyce, percell gylte.

His plate, most likely, was used but on particular occasions, for he had a service of pewter, to supply the want of it in common, which in the inventory runs as follows:

2 basons, and 2 ewers of pewter; one ale pott, and 2 wine potts, of the same;—2 dozen of pewter trenchers;—5 chargers;—17 platters;—2 dozen of dyshes;—16 sawcers;—2 porringers;—2 plates;—a washing bason;—a salte; and a pottle for water; all of the same metal.

From the house of the gentleman, we will now go on to the knight's fair mansion, where we may reasonably expect more grandeur and elegance.

The following extracts are from a tract found in the same bundle of papers before mentioned: it is an inventory taken of the goods and chattels of Sir Adrian Foskewe, at his mansion-house in the country, dated the 30th year of king Henry the Eighth.

This extensive inventory begins with a large and noble service of rich plate, of silver, great part of it gilt, which service must have been worth an amazing

sum of money; and this may serve to prove that the knight himself was exceeding rich, as well as the great quantities of land which it appears he possessed.—I will here also begin with the hall, which I find covered with

“A hangin of greine say, bordered with darneng (or needle-work);—Item 2 grete fide tables, with standinge tressels;—Item a small joyned cuberde, of waynscott, and a short peice of counterfett carpett upon it;—Item a square cuberde, and a large piece of counterfett carpett upon it;—a short piece of carpett in the wyndowe,—and 5 formes,” &c.

In the perler (*the best room for the reception of his guests*).

Imprim: a hangynge of greene say and red, panede; *—Item a table with two tressells, and a greyne verders carpet upon it;—three greyne verders cushyns;—a joyned cupberd, and a carpett upon it;—a piece of verders carpet in one window, and a piece of counterfett carpett in the other;—one Flemishe chaire;—4 joyned stooles;—a joyned forme;—a wyker skryne;—2 large awndyerns,--a fyer forke,--a fyer pan,--a payer of tonges;—Item a lowe joyned stole;—2 joyned foote stoles;—a rounde table of cipress; and a piece of counterfett carpett upon it,—Item a paynted table (*or picture*) of the Epiphany of our Lord.

From hence let us go on to the best chamber, leaving all the rooms of less consequence; and there we shall find,

“First a hanging all around the room, of grene and red say, paynede;—Item one great trussing bed, with 2 fether beds, wherof the one is downe;—with 2 bolsters;—2 pillowes of downe;—Item 3 blankets of woollen clothe;—a coverlet of verder worke, enlyned;—Item a mantill of red;—Item a joyned cupborde, with a counterfett carpet upon it;—Item a short table joyned, with a coarse carpett;—Item 2 chests;—an old Flemish chaire;—a turned chaire;—Item three cushins;—Item 2 awndyerns, a fyer pan;—a payer of tonges;—Item a chafer† of brasle;—two basons;—2 joyned stools.

Before we take our leaves of this antique mansion, let us see the chamber over the perler, which was the knight's own chamber.

“Furste an hangynge, of redd and greine say, panede;—Item a sparver of greine and blake say, with courteyns of the same;—a trussinge bed, framed of wenslotte;—2 fether bedds;—one grete bolster;—2 fustians;—2 pillows of downe;—a large counterpoynt, of greate verders;—2 joyned formes;—a turned chaire;—a joyned cupberde, with a counterfett carpet upon it;—Item a wyndowe clothe of payned sey;—2 small awndiarns;—a pair of tonges;—Item a greate standarde, with dyvers appariell belongynge to the lady Folkewe.”

Having

* The form and manner of the tapestry and other hangings, at that time usual in the houses of the gentlemen and nobility, to be hung round the wall, may be seen plate 15 of this volume.

† This I take to be a warming pan.

Having thus surveyed the furniture of the country house of this wealthy knight, let us, before we leave him, run over some few rooms of his house "beside the Black Freeres, in London."—The which inventory, taken at the same time, is also contained in the bundle before-mentioned.

Traft MS.
in Bib. Cot.
infig. Query
Vitellius.

His "hawle" is indeed but very plain, and sparingly furnished: for "furste 2 pieces of stayned clothe;—Item a long table, with 2 treffils,--and a short joined forme," compleat the whole survey. But enter we the parlour, and see what there may be found:

"Furste in the perlar ther is a hangynge of yelow, and greine say, pained;—Item a cupberd, with a Flemish chayre;—Item a longe table, with 2 treffills; Item 6 joynede stollles;—Item a little pece of say, hangynge before the wyndowe, yelow and greine, panede;—Item a longe settell;—Item 2 awndyerns,--a fyer forke,--a payer of tonges;—Item a pair of tables."

We will now see what is "in Sir Adrians Fokewes owen chamber," and then conclude.

"Furste a trussynge bedde, a feither bed, and a mattress;--a bolster;--a pair of blanketts;--a coverynge of vardures;—Item a sperver,* with courtaynes to the same, of yelow and greine;—Item the hangynge round the room of red saye;—Item 2 awndiarnes, and a pair of tonges:—Item a joyned forme;--a cheste at the beddes feet with writings, Item a cheste of napery.

Thus have we seen the household stuff of two people in very opulent circumstances; by which we may observe how plain and homely they were in their houses.

Here note once for all, that we ought not to be surprized at the plainness of the furniture here set forth, for all the chroniclers confirm the same.—Harrison, in the Description of Britain (writing in the reign of Elizabeth) informs us, that amongst the various improvements which had happened in the memory of men at that time living, that of household furniture was one of the most considerable; "for now (says he) the furniture of our houses is growne, in maner even to passing delicacie: and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentry onely, but even of the lowest sorte that have any thing at all to take to. Certes in noblemens houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, riche hangings of tapistrie, silvor vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish fundrie cupbordes, to the summe often times of a thousand or two thousande pounce at the least: wherby the value of this and the reast of their stuffe doth grow to be inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knightes, gentlemen, marchauntmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to beholde generallye their great provision of tapistrie, Turkye worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and therto costly cupbordes of plate woorth five or sixe hundred pounce, to be demed by estimation. But as herein all these sortes doe farre exceede their elders, and predecessours, so in time past, the costly furniture stayed there,

Holingshead
Vol. i. B. 2.
cap. 10.

K 2

whereas

* This appears to be the frame at the top of the bed, to which the curtain rods were made fast, for the support of the curtains.

whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferiour artificers and most fermers, who have learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their beddes with tapistry and filke hanginges, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I speake this in reproach of any man, God is my judge, but to shew that I do rejoyce rather to see how God hath blessed us with hys good giftes, and to beholde howe that in a time wherein all thinges are grown to most excessive preece, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and atchieve such furniture as heretofore hath beene unpossible."—And says Stow, in his Chronicle, in the life of king James the First, "Cushens, and window pillowes of velvet, and damask, &c. in former times were only used in the houses of the chief princes, and peers of the land; though at this day those ornaments of estate, and other princely furniture, be very plenteous in most citizens houses, and many other of like estate."

Stow's Chr.
pag. 867.

But, least our ideas should be sunk too low, it may be necessary here to remark, that the *turned chairs*, the *joynd stools*, the *awndyerns*, &c. which we find mentioned in the above inventories, are, 'tis true, such sorts of furniture as at this day can only be seen in the houses of the poorest and meanest people; but at that time they were oftentimes made extremely grand, enriched with carve work and gilding, insomuch that they composed part of the furniture, not only in the houses of the chief nobility of the realm, but also in the palace of the king himself: and of the *awndyerns*, or, as they are called by the moderns, *cob irons*, myself have seen a pair, which in former times belonged to some noble family; they were of copper highly gilt, with beautiful flowers enamelled with various colours, disposed with great art and elegance.

But before we bid adieu to the domestic furniture of our ancestors, let us look into the palace of the king himself.—In an inventory taken of king Henry the Eighth's palace, at Hampton-Court, I find this description of the king's own bed:

Large Folio
MS. in the
Harl. Libr.
1419.

"Item a bedstede; the posts and heade curiously wroughte, painted, and guilte; having as well foure bullyeons of timbre gilte, as foure vanes of yron painted, with the kinges armes: haveing cellar,--tester,--double vallaunces,--and bases, of cloth of golde tiffue, and cloth of silver paned together, embroidered upon the seames, with a worke of purple vellat; haveing the kinges armes, crowned with the crown imperial,--within the garland upon the celar, and tester;--and also with roses, and floures deluce, likewise crowned within the garlande, upon the said clothe of silver:—The said celer toke in lengthe, two yardes and a quarter; in breadth 2 yards, and 3 quarters; lined with yellow bucker (perhaps *buckram*.)—The double valunce, every one of them, took in depth one quarter of a yarde, with a deepe fringe of gold, silver, and filke:—The tester fringed upon bothe sydes, with a fringe narrow of Venice gold, and silver, touke in depthe one yerde 1 quarter 3 nailes; in height 3 yards, lined as aforesaide:—the 3 bases fringed at the endes, and at both sides, with a narrowe fringe of lyke gold, and silver as aforesaide, together with 5 curtaines, touk 23 paines of taphata, pained purple and white, garnished upon the same, on bothe sydes, with passamyne late of Venice gold, and fringed

fringed uppon the edge, and at the lower parte with a narrow frindge of lyke gold, and silver; every curteyne touk in depthe, 2 yerds 1 quarter.—Also a counterpointe of the same taphata, embraudred with the kinges armes, within a garlonde, holden by his majesties supporters; and four badges, within garlands, lykewise embrowdered with cloth of golde, lozenged all over with cordaunte of Venice gold, and silver; fringed rounde aboute with a narrowe fringe of Venice gold, and silver; lined with purple sarcenet; touke 3 yardes 1 quarter square:—One bedde of fustian, filled with downe; being of foure breadthes wide, of the same fustian, and in length 3 yardes.—The bolster of one bredthe wide, of fustian, filled with downe; and in lengthe 3 yerdes goode:—the 2 pillowes, being of one bredth wide of fustiane filled with downe, either of them in lengthe on yerde 1 quarter,—foure quiltes of lynnenclothis filled with wool (*that is, perhaps, wool quilted in thinly between them*) whereof 3 took in length the piece, 3 yardes good; and in breathe 3 yardes; and the 4th in length 2 yard 3 quarters, and in breadth 2 yerds 3 quarters.”

The other furniture of the bed-chamber was as follows:

“Two joined cupbords,—Item one joyned stoole,—Item two awndyrons with fire fork, tonges, and fire pan; Item a steel glasse covered with yellowe vellat.”

In the inventories of several other of the kings palaces, as well at Westminster as other places, I find mention of “blankets of redd Yrish freeze, with embraudred borders; also white Spanish blankets, of various colours: the general length is 3 yards 1 quarter, and breadth 2 yards 3 quarters;—and sheets of fine Holand, 5 breadths wide, and 6 yerdes long; with pillow beres of fine Holland of one bredth, and 1 yerde long good.”

Large Folio
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
1419.

It is very remarkable, that in all the inventories above-mentioned, of the palaces of Henry the Eighth, I meet with but few (and those very small) looking glassees, they generally using mirrours, or steel glassees as they then stiled them.

In the account of the secret stuff (as it is called) at Westminster, is a catalogue of “the glassees to looke in.” The most considerable one is set down as follows:

“A faire greate lookinge steele glasse, sette in crymson velvette, richly embrowdered with damaske pirles with knots of blew;—and a curtain to the same of blewe tafata, embrowdered with Venice gold, and cordiauntes of the same gold.”

Here we may note, that in the former inventories, as well of the knight's as of the gentleman's houshold furniture, we find no mention made either of looking glassees, or mirrours; but the reason perhaps may be this:—Glassees, or mirrors were at that time used only by the ladies, being always kept in cases, and (as for the most part they were very small and portable) they might be constantly kept in their pockets, or lock'd up with their other trinkets, for fear of damage done to them. Large pier glassees, or mirrours, were never used for ornaments, and hung up in the rooms uncovered, as at this period, but entirely

entirely confined to the bed-chambers and dressing closets, where they might be useful.

I cannot here help taking notice of the vast number of clocks which I meet with in all the inventories of the palaces above-mentioned. At Westminster, amongst a great variety, I find the three following most remarkable.

Item a rounde clocke of iron, with sondrye doores of copper, graven, showinge how the sea doth ebbe and flowe, with a case of glasse, set in iron, gylte, standinge upon a foote or case of wode, with 3 great counterpoyses (*weights*) and two smalle of copper, the 3^d small one being lede.

Item another clocke, shewing the course of the planets,—also the dayes of the year;—this was very ellegant, being gilt and enamelled, and richly ornamented with the king's coat of armes, having a chime.

Item a laume (*perhaps larum*) or watche of iron, in an iron case, with 2 leaden plumets.

Vide Vol. I,
pag. 72. and
V. 2, p. 115.

Before the invention of clocks (the date of which cannot be ascertained) we have already seen the contrivance of king Ælfred the Great; but because it also gives us another excellent invention (namely that of lanthorns) I will here speak of it again.

Vitæ
Ælfridi.

He (Ælfred) caused six tapers to be made, for his daily use, of 72 penny weight of wax, every taper containing in length 12 inches, 12 penny weight, and of equal proportion in breadth, mark'd by 12 inches; every inch thereof to burn an hour, the whole taper therefore 4; so that all the 6 tapers lighted one after the other, might continue to burn exactly the four-and-twenty hours: by which contrivance he divided every day and night into six parts, and every part into twelve smaller divisions, whereby he could distinguish and know the time of the day, and night. But when the wind, through the windows or doors of the chapel, or the chinks of his walls, or the cloth of his tents, wasted these tapers that they burnt at no certainty, he invented lanthorns of ox or cow horns cut into thin plates, which defended the tapers from the wind, that it could not waste them. The very words of Afferius are these:—"Lanternam ex lignis ꝛ bovinis cornibus pulcherrime contruere imperavit; bovina namque cornua alba ac in una tenuiter dolabrio epasa non minus vitreo varculo elucet; quæ itaque lanterna mirabiliter ex lignis ꝛ cornibus ut ante diximus facta," &c. &c.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
1882.

The English, like their ancestors, were very fond of bathing; many of the nobility had baths for that purpose in their own houses, besides these there were public baths in different places, to which those who could not afford to have them in their own houses usually repaired. The ladies apprehended that bathing contributed to, and preserved their beauty; for I find in an old MS. book of prognostications (written as early as the reign of Richard the Second) the following advice to the ladies;—that in the months of March, and November, they should not "goe to the bathe for beutye."

It was the constant fashion for the guest, invited to a banquet, to wash before they sat down to table. This, with some other customs, are explained in the following

following speech of Sir Giles Overreach (from a Play of Massenger's); he Comedy,
meaning to prepare a rich banquet, says called New
Way to pay
Old Debts.

————— Let my choicest linen be got forth;
Perfume the room; and, when we wash, the water
With pretious powders mix, to please my lord, &c.

Having thus taken a general view of the principal people of the realm, let us
now examine the furniture of the poor man's house. The following I find in
an old song, written in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by W. Warner, which MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark, 6910.

Did house him in a peakish graunge, within a forrest great,
Where knowen and welcomed (as the place and persones might afforde)
Browne bread, whig,* bacon, curds and milk were set him on the borde;
A cushion made of lifts, a stoole halfe backed with a hoope
Were brought him, and he sitteth down beside a sorry coupe.†
The poore old couple wisht their bread were wheat, their whig were pery,
Their bacon beefe, their milk and curds were creame, to make him merry.

I cannot help here taking notice of the state of gentlemen, and their extrava-
gant customs, a century and half past. In Johnson's Staple of News, Peny Boy Staple of
the elder, complaining of the reigning luxuries, says News, acted
1625.

————— Time ago
Men, good husbands, look'd unto their stocks,
Had their minds bounded; now the public riot
Prostitutes all, scatters away in coaches,
In footmans coats, and waiting womans gowns,
They must have velvet haunches!

And afterwards,

————— Who can endure to see
The fury of mens gullets now a days,—
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens might be spared?
What stews, ponds, parkes, coups, garners, magazines;
What velvet, tisues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces might they lack?---What need hath nature
Of silver dishes, or gold chamber potts?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous train
Of lazy waiting men to see her eat? &c.

And

* Butter milk.
† A coop or pen for poultry.

The Witts, And in the Witts, a Comedy of Sir William Davenant, knight, the elder
a Comedy. Pallatine says
 print. 1665.

Believe me to be an arrant gentleman,
 Such as in's scutchion gives horns, hounds, and hawkes,
 And hunting nags,—with tall eaters in blew coats.
 Sans number, &c.

Cynthia's And in the interlude called Cynthia's Revels, it appears that the ladies of rank
Revels. 1600 had their carroches, pages, monkies, and parachitoes, or *parroquets*, &c.

Wide Hol- In former times our ancestors used to strew their houses with rushes, which
ling. vol. 2, were carefully spread over the floors, till the use of carpets came in fashion.
pag. 1706. But the modern method (where carpets cannot be afforded) is to use sand in
 place of rushes, which, in my opinion, is a very disagreeable custom; for the
 dust arising, when the sand is thoroughly dry, is very inconvenient and trouble-
 some.

I have now to remark, that so lately as the beginning of the 16th century,
 the city of London was but ill supplied with water; there were several conduits
 erected it is true, but yet it was not conveyed from house to house; for there
Vide Stow's were at that time people, whose only occupation was that of bearing water to
Survey. the houses of the citizens:—such we see is the employment of Cob, a character
Johnson's in Every Man in his Humour.—But about 1614 (says Baker) a memorable act
Comedy of was performed by Sir Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, and
Every Man born in Denbighshire, who having an act of parliament for his warrent, with
in his Hu- infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought water to the city of London,
mour. from two great springs at Chadwell and Amwell in Hertfordshire, having
Baker's Chr. cut a channel from thence to Islington, wither he conveyed it into a large
fol. 416. pond, and from thence in pipes of young elms to all places of the city.

Some time after, the water-works at London Bridge were erected, which
 with great water-wheels, turning with the tide, move large pumps, and force
 the water up into cisterns, from whence it falls down through pipes to supply
 the surrounding houses. And since them have been engines invented, which,
 by the force of steam from boiling water, produce the same effect.

MS. in the The method of brewing of beer, before the use of hops, is set down as
Harl. Lib. follows, in an old MS. in the Harleian Library:
mark. 6816.

“ To make a Hogshed of strong Ale.”

It was necessary first of all to make the *grout*, which was thus done:—9 gal-
 lons of water was to be well boiled, and put into a brewing vessel; when it
 was a little cool, there was put therein 3 pecks of malt, which was left standing
 for an hour and half, and then it ought to be drawn off into a cooler;—when
 it was near cold, it was put into a vessel provided for that purpose, perfectly
 clean, and having a cover to stop it down close;—being therein, it was closely
 covered down, that it might there stand to sharpen;—if the weather should be
 cold, it might require about 18 hours, but if it was hot not quite so long.—It
 was

was the brewer's task carefully to examine it, and judge when it had work'd, and was ripe enough; (yet he ought as seldom as possible to open it, lest by the frequent uncovering, the spirit should evaporate).—When it was ripe enough, upon the sudden opening of the vessel, the strength of the fume arising from the liquor would near, if not entirely, extinguish a lighted candle, which ought to be provided short on purpose, and holden over for the proof thereof:—also it is to be remark'd, that when the liquor was ripe enough, it would constantly be of a sharp taste, and a yellowish cast.—When by these proofs the brewer was satisfied that the grout was properly ripened, he poured it forth into the copper and boiled it moderately, upon a slow fire, for about an hour, constantly stirring it all the while; and to know when it was boiled enough, he provided a small ashen stick, which being alighted at the fire, he thrust suddenly into the boiling liquor, drawing it forth as quick as possible,—when, if the fire on the stick remained still unextinguished, it was well boiled, but not if it were otherwise. This being done, the liquor was put into a vessel of 20 gallons, or thereabouts, and yeast put to it, that it might work, which when it had sufficiently done, it was ready for the wort to be put to it.—The wort might be brewed of what strength the brewer should please, so that it did not exceed 60 gallons to the above proportion of grout. The brewer ought to be very careful, to have this wort ready at the proper time, to mix with the grout before it should grow too sharp; also that his wort should be quite cold, when it is poured upon the grout.—The grout being now properly ripe, and having work'd enough, a quantity of the wort sufficient to fill up the 20 gallon vessel, into which the grout is put, must be pored upon it; and then the whole drawn off into the *yeeling fatt*, and there being mix'd with the remainder of the wort, is left to work together; which when it hath sufficiently done, it must be strained off into the hogshedd, through a hair sieve made for that purpose, where it must also work like other beer or ale.

Note that if the wort be made the day after the grout, they will be both ready together, except perhaps in the depth of winter, when the excessive cold may prevent the grout from sharpening so quickly;—in that case, take a fire-shovel full of clean wood ashes, and put into the vessel with the grout, and they will cause it to sharpen much sooner.

I read here also of head malt, which is the kernels grossly broken, and cleared from the flour; also of wheat malt, and in default thereof wheat grossly ground; and also of bean flour, as used in brewing of beer.

The *metbeglin*, or mede, was, as now, made with honey, &c. but at this period they used vast quantities of almost every sort of herbs, which were not unwholesome or disagreeable, the which were also brewed up with the liquor. This was much esteemed amongst our ancestors, and was a very common drink; but the more costly was *ypocrass*, which was served at the king's own table.

In Deker's Comedy of the Honest Whore, Roger receives three shillings and sixpence for a pottle of *ypocrass*, and a manchet.

The Honest
Whore, a
Comedy, by
Tho. Deker,

Chronicles
of London.

In Arnold's Chronicle of London I find the following receipt, intituled

The Crafte to make Ppocras.

"Take a quarte of red wyne, an unnce of synamon, and halfe an unnce" (ounce) "of gynger, a quarter of an unnce of greynes, & longe peper, & half a pounce of suger, and brose all this (not too small) & than put them in a bage of wullen clothe, made therfore" (or for that purpose) "with the wine, & lete it hange over a vessel tyll the wyne be rune thowwe."

Now, whether the wine should be poured hot upon the spice, or whether the spice should be first boiled in the wine, before it be strained, I am not able to determine; yet it appears to me, that the bare putting the spice to the wine quite cold, and only philtering it through a cloth, can never communicate a strength sufficient of the spice to make any very great alteration in the taste of the wine.

Another drink, very much esteemed, was the *clarey*, or *clarre*. The receipt for making the same, from the above-mentioned book, is as follows:

The Crafte to make Claze.

For 18 galons of good wyne, take half a pounce of ginger, quarter of a pound of long peper, un unnce of saffron, a quarter of an unnce of coliaundyr, 2 unnces of calomole dyomatycus; & the thirde part as much honey that is claryfyed, as of your wyne;—streyne thym through a cloth, & do it into a clene vessel.

The common people made a sort of drink, thus called, of ale; but a liquor much regarded by them was *braket*, which was thus made:

For Braket.

Take a pot of good ale, & put thereto a porcyon of hony, & peper, in this maner. When thou hast good ale, lete it stonde in a pott 2 dayes, & than drawe out a quart or a pottell of that ale, & putt to the hony; & set it over the fyre, & let it sethe well, & take it of the fyre, & scume it clene; & than sat it over the fyre, & scume it agayne, & then lete it keele a while, & put ther to the peper; & then set hym on the fyre, & lete hym boyle well to gyder, with ely fyre—but cleze.—Take 4 galones of good ale,—a pynte of fyn tyed hony, & about a saucer full of powder of peper.

Book of
Kervynge,
print. 1508.

By the way of concluding this chapter, take the following extract from the Book of Kervynge, printed by Wynken de Worde; it treats of the office of

The Chaumberlayne.

The chaumberlayne muste be dyligent, & clenly in his offyce, with his heed kembed, & so to go before his soverayne, & se that he have a clene sherte, breche, petycote, and doublet; than brushe his hosen, within and without, & se his shone, & shypers be made clene; & at mozne when your soverayne wyll arise, warne his sherte by the fyre, and se ye have a fote shete made in

in this maner; fyrst set a chape by the fyre, with a cypshen, an other under his fete, than sprede a shete ober the chape, and se there be redy a kercher, and combe; then warne his petycote, his doublet, and his stomacher, and then put on his hosen, & his shone or sylppers, than stryke up his hosen mannerly, & tye them up; than lace his doublet hole by hole, & laye the necke clothe, & kembe his heed; than loke ye have a basyn & an ewer, with warme water, and a towell, washe his handes; than knele upon your knee, and aske your soverayne what robe he wyll weze, & bynge hym suche as he your soverayne commaundeth, & put it upon hym; than doo hys gyrdell aboute hym, & take your lebe manerly; & go to the chyrche or chapell, to your soveraynes closet, and laye carpettes & cypshens, & laye downe hys boke of prayers; than draw the curtynes, and take your lebe goodly; and go to your soveraynes chambze, & caste all the clothes of hys bedde, and bete the fedybedde & bolster, but loke ye waste no fedyrs; than shake the blankettes, and se the shetes be fayre & swete, or elles loke ye have clene shetes; than make up his bedde manerly, than laye the hed shetes, and the pyllowes, than take up the towell and the basyn, and laye carpettes aboute the bedde, or wyndowes, and cupbordes, layde with carpettes and cypshyns.

Also loke there be a good fyre byennynge bygght; and loke ye have basyn and ewer with water, and a towell for your soverayne, than take of his gowng, and bynge him a mantell to kepe hym fro cold, than bynge hym to the fyre, and take of his shone and his hosen, than take a fayre kercher of reynes and kembe his heed, and put on his kercher and his bonet, than sprede downe his bedde, laye the heed shete, and the pyllowes; and when your soverayne is got to bedde, drawe the curtynes, than se there be mortar, or ware, or perchaures be redy, then drybe oute dogge, or catte, and loke there be basyn and urnall set nere your soverayne; than take your lebe manerly, that your soverayne may take his rest meryly.

DRESS and HABIT.

In the reign of Edward the Fourth, we have seen abundance of different habits, exhibited in the various plates relative to the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in the second volume of this work. The same also may well serve to elucidate the early part of the reign of Henry the Seventh; for during the short reign of Richard the Third, both the nobility and commons were too much taken up with the interesting matters then on the carpet, to attend to any considerable alteration of their dreis, and the introducing of many new fashions.

—Plate 1, of this volume, contains a variety of figures, all of them in the habit of the times, at the latter end of the reign of Henry the Seventh:—N^o. 1. exhibits a noble personage, as also does N^o. 10; the front of the last's garment is all the way down to the waste laced over a stomacher, like a woman's stays:—to this sort of habit (which was only worn by the nobility) the author of the Book of *Kervynge*, in the office of the *Chamberlayne*, plainly alludes, where he says, "warne your soverayne hys petycote, his doublet, and his stomacher; and then put on hys hosen, and then his schone or sylppers, then stryke up his hosen mannerly, and tye them up, than lace his doublet hole by hole," &c.—N^o. 6, as well as N^o. 9, of the same plate, are figures of gentlemen of distinction, the latter of which has his dagger hanging from his girdle; their doublets

The originals were made Ann. Dom. 1508.

See above.

Sir Henry
Chauncy's
Hist. Hertf.
pag. 76.

Spel. Gloss.
fol. 82.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
980.

are short, reaching only to the knee, with broad borders of furr.—N^o. 3 is a counsellor, and 4 the serjeant at law, with the coife upon his head. These serjeant counteurs, being clerks or religious men (says Sir Henry Chauncy) were bound by their order to shave their heads;* they were, for decency, allow'd to cover their bald pates with a coif, which was a thin linen cover for the head, gathered together in the form of a skull cap, or helmet,† and by which the serjeants at law are known, who are of the highest degree in our law.

The word *coifa* cometh from the French word *coife* or *coeffe*, otherwise *scoffion*. These coifes were soon after turned into coifes of white silk, whence these *serjeant counteurs*, or pleaders, were called *serjeants of the coife*, and every serjeant was clothed in a long priest-like robe, with a cape about his shoulders furred with lamb-skin, and an hood with two labels upon it, a white coife of silk upon his head, and party-coloured robes, that the people should shew the greater respect, as well to their persons as their profession.—N^o. 2 and 7, of the same plate, are gentlewomen; 5 and 8, the rustic man and woman.—The figures exhibited N^o. 10, are, the one a gallant *a la macaroni*, according to the preposterous taste of that age, and the other is a fool, the fop's constant and close companion.

Ship of
Fools of the
World.

Barclay, in the "*Ship of Fools of the Worlde*," exclaims greatly against the excess of apparel, as used in his time.—Pinson, who in 1508 printed this book, has, to the satirical verses on dress, subjoined the present two figures cut in wood: over the design is written,

Of newe Fassions, and disguised Garmentes.

Who that newe garmentes loves, or devises,
Or weareth by his simple wit and vanitie,
Geveth by his folly, and unthrifty guises,
Much evil example to yonge commontie,
Such one is a foole, and scant shall ever bee;
And commonly it is seene that nowe a dayes,
One foole gladly folowes anothers wayes.

And underneath the following severe lines, containing the ship-man's invitation to the fops of the age to come aboard his ship:

Drawe nere ye courtiers, and galants disguised,
Ye counterfait caitiffs that are not content
As God you hath made, his work is despised,
Ye thinke you more wiser then God omnipotent:
Unstable is your minde, that sheweth by your garment;
A foole is knownen by his toyes, and hys cote,
But by their clothing, now we may many note.

Some

* The reason why they shaved their heads is, because they originally were priests: but when the priests were forbid to intermeddle in secular affairs, these still continued to shave their heads, but wore the coife for distinction.—See MS. in the Harl. Lib. infig. 980.

† Signifying (says the MS. quoted in the former note) that, as helmeted soldiers ought to be bold in time of war, so ought these to be in their client's cause.

Some time after are these words in the same poem :

Some of their necks charged with collars, and chaines,
As golden withes; their fingers full of rings;
Their necks naked almost unto the raines,
Their sleeves blazin like unto a crane's winges.

And again,

Come neare with your shirts bordered and displaid,
In forme of surplois.

Shirts thus bordered with lace, and curiously adorned with wrought needle-work, continued long time in use amongst the nobility and gentry.

Ben Johnson, in his Comedy of the Devil is an Afs, speaks of cut-work smocks and shirts.—In the inventory of the apparel of king Henry the Eighth, we meet with shirt-bands of gold, and ruffles to the same; and in the same king's reign, in the act made for the reformation of apparel, I find it forbid to any person, under the degree of a knight, to wear pinch'd shirts, or pinch'd partlets of linen cloth, or plain-shirts garnish'd with silk, or gold, or silver.—And that these adorned shirt-bands, &c. by degrees were worn by people of mean stations of life, is very certain. This we find in the old play of George a Green, written about the year 1589.

Jenken, George's man, speaks thus to his master, concerning his own sweetheart :

Jenk.—And she gave me a shirt collar,
Wrought over with no counterfeit stuffe.

George.—What, was it gold?

Jenk.—Nay it was better than gold!

Geo.—What was it?

Jenk.—Right Coventrie blue.

The Devil
is an Afs,
acted 1616.
A&Parl.an.
24 Hen. 8.
cap. 13.
George a
Green, Pin-
ner of
Wakefield.
Vide Dodf-
ley's Collec-
tion of Old
Plays.

The same may be said of the embroidered shifts worn by the ladies. Thus in the Four Plays in One, of Beaumont and Fletcher, *Craft* speaks of smocks seamed through with cut-works; and in the old ballad of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, Annet says

My maids, gae to my dressing room,
And dress me to my smock;
The one half is o' the Holland fine,
The other o' needle-work.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. 3, p. 244.

And that great sums of money were laid out for these fineries, we may justly conclude from the speech of Proud Girtred, in the play called Eastward Hoe, where she says, "Smocks of three pound a smock, are to be born with all." Neither were the clergy cleare from the pride of extravagant habits (says Camden). Albeit *Polydor Virgil*, and the late archbishop of Canterbury *D. Parker*, noteth "that the cleargy of England never ware filke, or velvet, untill the time of the pompous Cardinall *Wolfey*, who opened that dore to pride among

Eastward
Hoe, by
Johnson,
Chapman &
Massenger,
print. 1605.
Camden's
Remains,
pag. 235.

among them, which hitherto cannot bee shut."—But we have heretofore seen, that they were as much besotted in this excess as the laity. Pierce Plowman also lashes them for their love of pomp; and the following ballad (which was written in the reign of Henry the Sixth) although it speaks of this vice in general, yet it is more particularly aimed at the clergy themselves, by whose bad examples the laity were led into excess and bad habits.

From a
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 372.

Ye proude gallontes hertlesse,
With your high cappis witlesse,
And your schort gownys thriftlesse,
Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.

With youre longe peked schone,
Therefor your thrift is almost done,
And with your longe hare into your eyen,
Have brought this lond to gret pyne.

Ye poope holy prestis, ful of presomcone,
With your wyde fueryd hodes, voyd of discrecione,
Unto your owyn prechyng of country condicone,
Whech causith the people to have lesse devocone.

Avauncid by symony in cetees and townys,
Make schorter your taylis—and broder your crownys;
Leve your schort stuffide dowbelettes, and your pleytid gownys,
And kepe your owyn howsyng, and passe not your boundys.

Reprove none other men, I schall tell you whye,
Ye be so lewd youre selfe there settiche no man you bye
Yit is not but aschame ywold be callyd holly,
And worse disposyd people levyth not undir the skye!

First make free your selfe, that now to fyne be bounde;
Leve fyne and drede it,—thane may ye take on hond
Othir to reprove, and that I undirstonde
Ye may amende all other, and brynge pese to londe.

In the inventory of the robes and apparel at the castle at Windsor (taken in the reign of Henry the Eighth) amongst vast variety of other matters, I find—
MS. in the Harl. Lib. No. 1419. Robes lately prince Arthur's, eldest son to our late soveraigne lord kinge Henry the Seventh.

Robes for the Order of St. George.

A mantell of blew velvet, lyned with white faten damaske :—a kirtell, and a hoode of crimson vellat, lyned with white damaske.

For

For the Order of Tosion d'Or.

A mantell of crimson velvet, embroydered, and lyned with white fatten:—a kirtill, and hoode of crimson velvet, lyned with black fattyn.

For the Order of St. Mychaell.

A mantell of cloth of silver, lyned withe white fatten, withe scalloppe shelles; Item a hoode of crymsin velvet, embraudeard, with scalloppe shelles, lyned with crymsin fatten.

Early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the fashion of wearing trawses was much affected: these were breeches (says *Randle Holme*) which sat so tight upon the thighs, that they discovered the whole make and shape. But this fashion was by no means now newly invented; for its first appearance was, I believe, in the middle of the reign of Edward the Fourth. An instance of this sort of habit may be seen in the 47th plate of the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, which I published heretofore; and that the same fashion was also common in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh, the plates of the second volume of the present work may evince.*—But indeed some additions were made; for (says *Holme*) the lower parts were never so scanted, but the upper made ample amends for that fault,—for the doublets were so bombasted with linnings, and the sleeves so stuff'd out, that they were cumbersome both to the body and the armes. A figure of this sort (improv'd from his delineation) is to be seen N^o. 7, plate 12. And indeed we may see, that the sleeves are very much stuffed out, and full, in the figures N^o. 1, 2, and 8, of the same plate, which, together with N^o. 3 and 4, are all representations of the habit of that reign. They are taken from the frontispiece and other parts of the *Great Bible*, published 1540.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2014.

Cramner's
Bible, with
Wood Cuts,
print, 1540.

Some of the apparel of king Henry the Eighth himself, we meet with in the inventory of his secret wardrobe, at Westminster.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1419.

Amongst the Gowns,

Item a gowne, with a square cape of crimson vellat, and crimson fatten, all over embraudered with pirles of damaske golde and silver; having a riche border, and gaurde of crimson vellat, embraudered with damaske golde and perles, faced with crimson fatten, also alover embraudered with the same damaske golde, and perles; with a like border cut the length of the said facing;—being upon the sleeves of the same gowne, 26 diamonds set in buttons of gold;—the same gowne is lined throughout with crimson fatten.

Another was of purple fatten, and had on the sleeves 10 butttons, and 28 pair of agletts of gold.

Among

* See the attendants, plate 15,—the man going up steps, plate 16,—and the nobleman delivering the child to the earl of Warwick, plate 51,—all in the second volume.

Among the kirtles,

The foreparte of a kirtle of crimson fatten, all over embraudered with damaske peepe, and perle; with a pair of sleeves of the same work, haveing perles set in golde.

Among the Robes.

A mantle for the parliament, of crimson vellat, partely furred with powdered ermyns.

Two mantles for the order of St. George, one of blue the other of purple vellat, lined with white farcenet;—a crymson vellat hoode, lyned with white farcenet.

Cotes and Doublettes.

A cote of *shamewe*, of purple clothe, with goldsmithes work, furred with fables gaurded with purple vellat, and enbraudered with gold.

One doubelett of crymson vellat, embraudered with gold; the same doublet set oute with camerike.

Various other things:

Shirt bandes of golde, with ruffles to the same;—a cloake of tawny fatten, of 2 yardes, enbraudered with Venice gold, and lyned with tawny farcenet.—Sumptous sleeves (Note, this part of the drefs was separate from the gownes and kirtles, being buttoned on to them).—Stomachers; some of purple, silver tissue, others enbrawdered with gold, and pirles.—Frontiettes of crimson fatten, embraudered with perles;—plumes of feathers for helmets, of white ostrich feathers, richly garnished with passemayne, and fringes of Venice gold, and gold spangles intermix'd, with small copper ones, and either of the plumes having a toppet of herons fethers.—Large plumes of feathers for horses, of all colours, chiefly herons feathers, garnish'd with spangles and toppets.—(Of these sorts of plumes, both on the helmets and horses, see the plates 5, 6, and 7, &c. of this volume.)

MS. in the Harl. Lib. 1419. At Hampton Court, I find mention of “a payer of sweete gloves, lined with white vellat, each glove trimmed with 8 buttons, and 8 small aigletts of gold enamelled; also knitte gloves of silk, and handkerchers edged with gold and silver, others with needle-work. These handkerchiefs, wrought with gold and silver, were not uncommon in the after times. In the ballad of George Barnwell, it is said of Milwood,

Reliques of
Anc. Poetry,
V. 3. p. 252.

A handkerchief she had,
All wrought with silk and gold,
Which she, to stay her trickling tears,
Before her eyes did hold.

How sumptuous king Henry the Eighth was in his habit, as well indeed as all his train of lords and courtiers, at every public show and tournament, our historians will testify, but more especially the faithful Hall, who was often an eye-witness of their splendour and expensive magnificence.

Henry

Henry the Eighth's habit, when he rode from the Tower of London, the day preceding his coronation, as also that of his queen, &c. are thus set down by Hall:—"His grace wared in his upperst apparrell, a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embrowdered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate bauderike aboute his necke, of large balaffes; the trapper of his horse damaske gold, with a depe purfell of armyns; his knights and esquires for his body, in crimosyn velvet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and household servauntes, wer appareled in skarlet.

Hall's Union
in the Life
of Hen. 8.
fol. 2. b.

"The quene (Katheryne) fittyng in her litter, borne by two white palfries, the litter covered, and richely appareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of gold: her persone appareled in white satyn embrodered, her haire hangyng downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones."

ib. fol. 3. a.

In this king's reign there were made four several acts for the reformation of apparel; the purport of them were as follows:

Acts made
in the Reign
of H. 8.

None but the king, the queen, the king's mother, the king's children, brethren and sisters, might wear any cloth of gold of purple colour, or silk of the same colour, or furr called furr of black genetts; upon pain of forfeiting of the same, and 20*l.* every time they so offended.

None under the estate of a duke, or a marquis, might wear himself, or put upon his horse harness, any cloth of gold, or tiffue, on pain of forfeiting the same, whether it should be guarded or brouded, and to pay 20 marks for every offence.

None under the degree of a duke's son and heir apparent, marquis, or an earl, might wear any furs of sable, under the aforesaid pain of forfeiture of the same, and payment of 20 marks every time of offending.

None under the degree of a baron might themselves wear, or put upon their horse harness, any cloth of gold or silver,—no such apparel mix'd, guarded, or embrodered with gold or silver; upon the above pain, and payment of 10 marks.

None under the degree of an earl, baron, or knight of the garter, might wear any woollen cloth made out of the reahn of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or the marches of the same (except in bonnets) on the above hazard, and payment of 10 marks.

No man, under degree of a knight of the garter, to have for himself, or horse, any velvet, crimson or blue; upon pain not only of forfeiting of the same, but for every offence to pay the sum of 40*s.*

None but knights, esquires for the king's body, his cupbearers, carvers, and sewers, the same officers belonging to the queen and prince, also the treasurer of the king's chamber, and other officers, having land, &c. to the amount yearly of 200 marks,—as also justices of the Bench, &c. master of the Rolls, barons of the Exchequer, the king and queen's physicians, and the lord mayor of London, might wear any velvet in their coats, gowns or jackets,—or furr of martins, either mix'd, joined, guarded or broided; on penalty of paying 40*s.*

and forfeiting such their apparel.—the sons and heirs of barons, and knights, are also, with the above, excepted from this penalty.

No man under the degrees above-mentioned, except gentlemen who might have 200 marks yearly value over all charges, to wear any chain, or collar of gold, or gilt, or any gold about his neck, or in bracelets, on pain of forfeiting the same; except certain officers so appointed to do, by their offices in the king's, the queen's, the prince's, or the most honourable households.

None but persons above-mentioned, except gentlemen yearly possessed of 100 marks, to wear sattin or damask in their gowns, under pain to forfeit all such apparel, and pay 40s. every time they so offended.

None but such as above-mentioned, or gentlemen having yearly value of 100l. over all charges, to wear in their doublets sattin damask, or filken chamlet, under the forfeiture as above, and the payment for every offence 40s.

No man under the degree of gentleman, possessed of 10l. *per annum*, or goods and chattels to the amount of 100l. (which goods are to be proved by oath) to wear any furr which is not got in the kingdom.

No man under the degree of an earl, marquis, or knight of the garter, to wear embroidered apparel, broched or guarded with gold, silver, or goldsmith's work, under the above penalty, and the payment of 40s.

No man under the degree of a knight (except spiritual men, serjeants at the law, or a graduate at the universitie) to use more cloth in a long gown than three yards, on pain of forfeiting of the same.

No serving man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear in a gown, or coat, more than three broad yards, nor any chamlet, or any manner of furr, (lamb's excepted,) nor any cloth in his hose above 20d. *per yard*, unless it be the gift and leaving of his master, on pain of forfeiting the same, or the value thereof, and paying 3s. 4d.

No man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any filk, or chamlet, or any points in any apparel of his body, ornamented with aiglets of gold or silver gilded, or buttons, or broches of gold, or silver gilt, or any goldsmith's work, except it be the badge of his lord. The offender shall forfeit such ornaments, and pay 10s.

None, under the degree of a knight, to wear gowns of velvet, pinch'd shirts, or pinch'd partlets of linen cloth, or plain shirts garnished with filk, or gold or silver, under the penalty of forfeiting all the same apparel, and to pay 10s. for every offence.

No husbandman, shepherd, or common labourer to any artificer, out of cities or boroughs, (having no goods of their own above the value of 10l.) shall use or wear any cloth, the broad yard whereof passeth 2s. 4d. or any hose above the price of 12d. the yard, upon pain of imprisonment in the stocks for three days.

Act 24 H. 8. This act was last confirmed, with some few exceptions and additions, the cap. 13. 24th year of his reign.

MS. in the Harl. Lib. In this king's reign (says Randal Holme) began several sorts of apparel, which (adds he) are now in use in our own days [he wrote in the reign of Charles the mark. 2014. Second]; for, before his time, we read not that either bands, cuffs or ruffs, &c. were

were usually worn; neither (continues he) was the hat found out, till about this time [that is, the latter end of his reign] caps, both round and cornered, being the only head-cover both of men and women.—But in this last particular he must have been mistaken, for we find the hat as early as the reign of Henry the Fourth; witness the figure at the left-hand of plate 39, of the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*;—and in the ballad of *Lidgate*, called the *London Lickpeny*, (given page 61 of this volume) verse 7, mention is made of “*fyne felt hattes*,” which were then sold by the Flemish traders.

Howe, in his *Continuation of Stow's Chronicle*, says, “in the reign of Henry the Eighth was begun the making of Spanish felts in England, by Spaniards and Dutchmen, before which time, and long since, the English used to ride and goe, winter and sommer, in knit caps, cloth hoods, and the best sort in thromd hatts.*”—This might lead *Holme* to his mistake: they about that time began to be made in England, though they were known long before.

In this king's reign also (adds *Holme* to his former account) the high winged doublets and gowns (something like the figures, N^o. 8, 11 and 12, plate 22.) with trailing curtiles and troutes (see N^o. 9, of the same plate) with such-like fashions, did begin, which were kept up for many years without any great variation, and were also much in use even some time in the reign of Elizabeth.

Before I pass over this reign of King Henry, I will just take notice of that abominable and beastly custom of wearing the cod-pieces (as they are called) sticking out from the hose, or breeches. This may be seen in the figure of king Henry the Eighth (as painted by Holbein) seated on his throne, granting the charter to the barbor-surgeons: this picture is engraved by Vertue, and published by the Society of Antiquaries,—to which print I refer the reader; the same is represented in the figure of the somner whipping the man, plate 20, N^o. 8; and this filthy fashion was long used, for it is very often alluded to in the old plays and ancient histories. In the old *History of John Newchombe*, the famous clothier of Newbury (in Henry the Eighth's reign) we meet with his dres described, when he went to meet the king: “he had on a plain russet coat, a pair of kersie breeches, without welt or gaurd, and stockings of the same piece sowed to his flocs, which had a great cod-piece, on which he stuck his pins.”—Also in the *Play of the Honest Whore*, the servant says to Bellafront, because she was habited in man's apparel, “Slid, you are a sweet youth to wear a cod-piece, and have no pins to stick upon it.”

Stow's Chr.
pag. 870.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2014.

The History
of Jack of
Newbury.

The Honest
Whore, a
Comedy, by
Tho. Deker;

Now then go we on to the reigns of Edward the Sixth and queen Mary; and there we find that most of the fashions which were chiefly affected in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, were still continued. Various figures of this age may be seen in the plates of this work,—as the figure, N^o. 6, on plate 12.—all the figures on plate 13,—N^o. 1, 2, 3, and 4, plate 13,—and N^o. 5, plate 17. Here we find, indeed, that the cutting of the doublets begins to appear very

M 2

common.

* But afterwards they were only worn by the very commoner sort of people, for in the droll *History of George Dobson*, printed A. D. 1607, the dress of a country ale-wife is thus set forth:—“She put on her fairest smocke, a peticoat of a good broad red, her gown of grey faced with buckeram, and her square *thrum'd hat*, and before her hung a clean white apron.”

common.*—The stand-up cape to the cloaks, as represented upon the gentlemen, N^o. 3 and 4, plate 14, is extremely singular; as also the curious wrought hat-bands, and the feathers. In those times the nobility and gentlemen of distinction were chiefly noted by their scarlet cloaks, the hat and the feather, and the hat-band; which last continued long in use. They were often made

The Witts,
a Comedy, by
Sir William
D'Avenant.
Every Man
out of his
Humour, by
Johnfon.

of goldsmith's work, and set with precious stones, and generally of great value.—Thus in the Witts (a Comedy) the elder Palatine speaks of his hat-band, saying, "My hat-band—a row of diamonds—worth a thousand marks." And the gallant Fastido (in every Man out of his Humour) speaking of his dress, has this of his hat and band: "I had on a gold cable hat-band, then new come up, of massie goldsmith's work, which I wore about a murrey French hat, the brims of which were thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles."

Pedigree of
the English
Gallant,
pag. 548.

In the time of queen Mary (says Bulver) square toes were grown in fashion, insomuch as men wore their shooes of so prodigious a breddth at the toes, that, if I remember aright, there was a proclamation came out, that no man should wear his shooes above fixe inches square at the toes. (See the gentleman, plate 17, N^o. 5.)—After these the picked pointed shoes came also up again; and in the latter end of the last century, and the beginning of the present, the square toes were again brought into fashion. But sure, of all customs, the present (when men have their shoes made to their feet, without pinching) is the best, and most decent in appearance.

Bulver's
Man Trans-
formed,
pag. 548.

Early in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the wearing of great breeches was carried to very absurd and ridiculous lengths, together with the peascod doublets, as they were called. (See the figure, N^o. 8, plate 22.—These slops or breeches, or trunk hose, they used to stuff-out with rags, or such-like stuff, till they brought them to an enormous size. Bulver, in his Pedigree of the English Gallant, speaks of a man whom the judges accused of wearing breeches contrary to the law (for a law was made against them): he, for his excuse, drew out of his slops the contents; as first a pair of sheets, two table-cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, and a comb, with night-

* All these fashions of the noblemen and grandees were, by degrees, followed by the very meanest people of the realm. Camden relates a remarkable instance:—"I will tell you (says he) how Sir Philip Calthrop purged John Drakes, the shoemaker of Norwich, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, of the proud humour which our people have to be of the gentlemen's cut. This knight bought on a time as much fine French tawney cloth as should make him a gown, and sent it to the taylour's to be made. John Drakes, a shoemaker of that town, comming to the said taylour's, and seeing the knight's gown cloth lying there, liking it well, caused the taylour to buy him as much of the same cloth, and price to the same intent, and further bad him to make it of the same fashion that the knight would have his made off. Not long after the knight comming to the taylour's, to take measure of his gown, perceiving the like cloth lying there, ask'd of the taylour whose it was? Quoth the taylor, it is John Drakes' the shoemaker, who will have it made of the self-same fashion that your's is made of. Well (said the knight) in good time be it! I will (said he) have mine made as full of cuts as thy sheeres can make it. It shall be done, said the taylour; whereupon, because the time drew neer, he made hast to finish both their garments. John Drakes, when he had no time to go to the taylour's till Christmas-day, for serving of customers, when he had hoped to have worne his gown, perceiving the same to be full of cuts, began to swear at the taylour for the making his gown after that sort. I have done nothing (quoth the taylour) but that you bid me; for as Sir Philip Calthrop's garment is, even so have I made ycur's. By my latchet (quoth John Drakes) I will never weare gentleman's fashion again!"—Camden's Remains, pag. 236.

night-caps and other things of use, saying, "Your worships may understand, that, because I have no safer a store-house, these pockets do serve me for a roome to lay up my goods in,—and tho' it be a straight prison, yet it is big enough for them, for I have many things of value yet within it." And so was his discharge accepted, and well laugh'd at.

I met with a remarkable note, concerning these great breeches, in a MS. preserv'd in the Harleian Library, which I cannot pass over in silence; it is this: MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
980.

"Memorandum, that over the seats of the Parliament-house, in the 43 year of queen Elizabeth (when some repairs were there done) were to be seen certain holes, about 2 inches square, in the walls; in which formerly were placed posts to uphold a scaffold, round the inside of the house, for those to sit on who (in the beginning of the reign) used the wearing of great breeches, stuffed with hair like wool-sacks; which fashion, in her 8th year, being left off, the scaffolds were taken down, and never since put up."

But though this ridiculous fashion was then dropp'd, it was but for a time, because in the year 1614 it was again revived, as may be seen in the figures N^o. 3 and 4, plate 19; which breeches were then also chiefly stuff'd with hair, as we may conclude from the satirical rhimes in a ballad of that age: it is intituled "A lamentable Complaint of the poore Cuntry Men, agaynst great hose, for the loss of their cattelles tales." I have selected some of the most striking stanzas, the whole of the song being too long to obtain a place entire in this work. MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 367.

11.

For now of late in lesser thinges,
To furnyshe forthe theare pryde,
Wyth woole, with flaxe, with haire also,
To make thear bryches wyde.

12.

What hurt, what damage doth ensue,
And fall upon the poore,
For want of wool and flaxe of late,
Whych monstrous hose devoure.

13.

I will not speake, for that I think
Eache man doth knowe the same;
And chiefly those that till the ground,
The husbände menne by name.

14.

But haire hath so possess'd of late
The bryche of every knave,
That none one beast, nor horse can tell,
Whiche way his taile to save.

And

And after he thus concludes :

I woulde that suche as weare thys haire,
Were well and truely bound,

30.

With every haire a louse to have,
To stufte their bryches oute ;
And then I truste they would not weare,
Nor beare such bagges aboute:

And the ladies also, that they might not be behind-hand with the gentlemen in their fantastical taste, invented the large-hoop farthingales, as a companion to the trunk hose or breeches. Those women who could not purchase the farthingales provided for themselves the bum-rolls, which they put up under their petticoats and gowns, to make them stick out.—“ I was a lady (says Chloe, in Johnson's Poetaster) before I debased myself from my hood and my farthingale, to these bum-rolls, and your whalebone bodice.”—But yet even these were not used by the very common people; for this sort of habit had its distinction, as we find in the Parson's Wedding, where Jolly, speaking of a bawd, says, “ Those virtues raised her from the flat petticoat and kercher, to the gorget and bum-roll.”—I find that the most esteemed farthingales, were those which were called Scotch farthingales, with the French fall.

Poetaster,
by Johnson,
first acted
A. D. 1601.
Parson's
Wedding,
by Killegrew
Vide East-
ward Hoe—
the Speech
of Girtred.

Queen Elizabeth, like her father, affected much pomp and grandeur of dress, as may be seen by the various portraits of her,* especially one engraved by Crispan de Passe, in which print she is represented in a most remarkable rich and superb habit, curiously ornamented with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones. There is also a good portrait of her given by Vertue, attended by various courtiers and ladies, in her procession to visit Lord Hunsdon: her dress is there extremely rich, as also the habits of the attendant lords and ladies. Lady Hunsdon, copied from that print, is to be seen Plate 14, N^o. 6.

A portrait also of the same queen (Elizabeth) is represented plate 15, of this volume. The person kneeling before her, is *Gascoigne* the poet, who is presenting a book to her (see the account of the plates at the end of the volume).—She is here seated upon her throne, under a canopy of state, in a large room covered with hangings; her habit is a rich embroidered gown and kirtle, with the robe of state; in her right-hand she holds a scepter, and in her left the mound or globe.—The dress of Gascoigne is fantastical enough; one half of his habit is like that of a poetry professor, and the other half is the dress of a soldier, to which the motto holden by a hand above alludes, “ *Tam Marti, quam Mercuris* ;” by which he meant to signify, that he was ready to take up either his pen, or his sword, in the defence of his sovereign mistress.

In

* Also from the account of her wardrobe, in which she had such an incredible number of changes of garments.

In a MS. which seems to have been written about the middle of this queen's MS. in the reign, I met with the following orders for reformation of the head-dress for Harl. Lib. gentlewomen: mark. 1716.

First, None shall wear an ermyne, or lettice bonnet, unless she be a gentlewoman born, having armes

Item, A gentleman's wife (she being a gentlewoman born) shall wear an ermyne, or lettice bonnet, having one powdring in the top; and if she be of honourable stock, to have two powdrings, one before another, in the top.

An esquire's wife to have 2 powdrings.

An esquire's wife for the body, to wear 5 powdrings; and if she be of great blood, two before, which maketh 7.

A knight's wife to wear on her bonnet 7 powdrings, or 8 at most, in respect of her higher blood as before.

A banneret's wife to wear 10 powdrings.

A baron's wife 17.

A viscountess to wear 18.

A countess to wear 24 powdrings.

Above these estates, the noble ladies may wear the number convenient, at their pleasures.

Dukes daughters (says Stow) in the reign of Henry the Eighth, wore gownes of fatten of Bridges, upon solemn days.

Stow Chron.
fol. 867.

In the second year of queen Elizabeth, says Stow, (1560) her filk woman, mistress *Montague*, presented to her majestie a pair of black knit filk stockings, for a new-year's gift; which, after a few days wearing, pleased her highness so well, that she sent for mistress *Montague*, and asked her where she had them, and if she could help her to any more?—who answered, saying, "I made them carefully on purpose for your majesty; and seeing they please you so well, I will presently set more in hand." "Do so (said the queen) for I like filk stockings so well, that I will not henceforth wear any more cloth hose."—For (continues he) you shall understand that king Henry the Eighth did wear only cloth hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffaty; or by great chance there came a pair of filk stockings from Spain.—King *Edward* the Sixth had a pair of long Spanish filk hose sent him for a great present.

Ibid.

But in the year 1599, William Lee (master of arts of St. John's college, Cambridge) invented a steel loom, or engine, for the weaving of filk stockings, pieces for waistcoats, and various other things: but even then, they were confined to the nobility.—Upwards of thirty years before that time, one William Rider (near the foot of London-bridge) seeing a pair of knit worsted stockings in the lodging of an Italian merchant, which came from *Mantua*, borrow'd them for a time, and caused others to be made like them. These were the first worsted stockings which were made in England, which being approved of by the commoners, the sale of them became very great, and in a short time the kingdom was well supplied them. At their first appearance, even the nobles themselves used to wear them.—The earl of Pembroke is set down in the Chronicle, as the first nobleman that ever wore any worsted stockings in England.

In

Stow's Chr.
fol. 868.

In the third year of the reign of the same queen (says Stow) began the wearing of *lawn* and *cambrick*, which was then first brought to England in small quantities; and when the queen had ruffs made thereof, for her own wearing, there was none in England who could starch and stiffen them; for before this time the kings and queens of England wore fine Holland in their ruffs; but the queen procured some Dutch women, who could starch, to do the same; and *Guillan's* wife was the first starcher the queen had, as *Guillan* himself was the first coachman.

Ibid. 869.

But afterward, in the year 1564, (the 16th of the same queen) one mistress *Dinghen Vanden Plasse*, born at *Teenen* in *Flanders*, daughter to a worshipful knight of that province, with her husband, came to London, and there professed herself a starcher, wherein she excelled; unto whom her own nation presently repaired, and employed her, rewarding her very liberally for her work.—Some of the curious ladies of that time, observing the neatness of the Dutch, and the nicety of their linen, made them cambrick ruffs, and sent them to mistress *Dinghen* to starch; and afterwards they made them ruffs of lawn, which was at that time a stuff most strange and wonderful (says my author) and thereupon rose a general scoff, or bye word, that shortly they would wear ruffs of a spider's web. Soon after they began to send their daughters and kinswomen to mistress *Dinghen*, to learn how to starch: her usual price was, at that time, four or five pounds to teach them to starch, and twenty shillings to learn them to seeth starch.—This Mrs. *Dinghen* was the first that ever taught starching in England.

Artificial
Changeling,
fol. 535.

Bulver, in his Pedigree of the English Gallant, quarrels much with these thin ruffs. "It is indeed (says he) hard to derive the abominable pedigree of cob-web lawn—yellow starched ruffs, which so much disfigured our nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and phantastical; but (adds he) it is well that fashion died at the gallows with her who was the supposed inventrix of it."*

The yellow tinge in the starch was much admired, as may appear from several passages in the old Plays. Thus in the *Blind Lady*, Peter says to the Chambermaid, "You had once better opinions of me, though now you wash every day your best handkerchief with yellow starch, and your laced quoiff." (They used saffron to colour the starch).—In the old Play of *Albumazer*, Armellina says to Trincalo, "What price bears wheat and saffron, that your band is so stiff and yellow?"—Yet in Charles the Second's days it was out of fashion; for Wanton, in Killigrew's Play of the Parson's Wedding, has this speech: "One that has payed for sin, ever since yellow starch and the wheel fardingales were cryed down."

That they used to pay great and extravagant prices for ruffs, and the ridiculous lengths to which they were carried, may be concluded from the outcries made against them, not only in the old plays and poems, but also by the historians themselves.—In the *Dumb Knight* (written in the reign of Charles the First) a woman boasting of her dress, and ruff in particular, informs us, that the one she has on is but shallow, and that she has one at home which is a full quarter deep.

* Hence it appears that she was hanged. But I do not remember to have read this in any other book; neither can I positively determine whether mistress *Dinghen* is here meant, but I fancy not.

deep. And in the Match at Midnight, a Comedy (wrote about the same time with the former) the Widow particularly questions her Maid, "if she bid the sempstrefs hollow her ruff in the French fashion cut?"—By this we may be led to believe that this fashion came from France; but let us hear what an old chronicler says thereon: "Noble personages, and other of special note, made them ruffs, a full quarter of a yard deep, and 12 lengths in a ruff; this fashion in London was called the *French fashion*, but when Englishmen came to Paris, the French knew it not, and in derision called it the *English monster*."

Vide
Stow's Chr.
fol. Edit.
pag. 869.

When these ruffs came first in fashion, the Dutch merchants only sold the lawn and cambrick, by ells, yards, half ells, and half yards; for there was not then one shopkeeper amongst forty durst buy a whole piece, either of lawn or cambrick; and at that time there was not so much lawn and cambrick to be had in all the merchants houses in London, as at this day may easily be purchased in one linen-draper's shop.

Ibid.

"Milleners or haberdashers had not (says Howe) any gloves imbroydered or trimmed with gold or silk, neither gold imbroidered girdles and hangers;—neither could they make any costly wash or perfume, untill, about the 14th or 15th year of queen Elizabeth, when the right honourable *Edward de Vere*, earle of *Oxford*, came from Italy, and brought with him gloves, sweet bagges, a perfumed leather jerkin, and other pleasant things; and that year the queen had a paire of perfumed gloves trimmed onely with four tuftes, or roses of coloured filke." The queen took such delight in those gloves, that she was pictured with them upon her hands.—But if perfumed gloves were then first introduced into the realm, what shall we say of the "*swete gloves*" mentioned in the inventory of the wardrobe of king Henry the Eighth, at Hampton Court? Not only gloves, but various other parts of their habits were perfumed; and we frequently meet with mention in old plays of civet boxes, boxes of sweet powders, and pots of perfume, &c. as part of the lady's toilet.—In the Comedy of the City Madam, the principal lady asks her maid for her shoes, that she gave orders to be made of Spanish perfumed skins. And the beaux were none behind-hand; as, in Johnson's Comedy of the Staple of News, the Taylor informs the spruce young Penny Boy, "that his pockets were right good, with true Spanish perfume, the *Lady Estifania's*; they cost 12 pound a pair." *Lady Estifania* is also, in the Devil is an Ass, set forth as very curious and choice in her perfumes, &c. even to a proverb.—Beaumont and Fletcher have often, in their plays, made mention of the expensive perfumings, &c. Thus, in the Four Plays in One, Craft makes this answer to Desire,

Vide
Return from
Parnassus, in
Collect of
Old Plays,
Vol. 3.
City Madam
a Comedy, by
Massenger.
Staple of
News, a
Comedy.

The Devil
is an Ass,
act 4. sc. 1.
Moral Re-
present. of
Four Plays
in One.

—— Vain delight
Hath ruin'd you, with clapping all
That comes in for support, on cloaths, and coaches,
Perfumes, and *powdered pates*, &c.

John Tice (says Howe in the Continuation of Stow's Chronicle) somewhere about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of queen Elizabeth, attained to the perfection of making all sorts of tufted taffaties, cloth of tissue, wrought velvets, branched sattins, and all other kinds of curious silk stuffs.

Stow's Chr.
fol. 869.

The 4 Pee's
of John Hey-
wood, wrote
about 1560.

For the woman's trinkets at that time, take the following speech of the Pedlar, as it stands in an old interlude:

Dost thou not knowe, that every pedlar
In all kinde of trifles must be a medler?
Specially in woman's triflings, &c.

Which he afterwards specifies to be

Gloves, pinnes, combes, glasse unspotted,
Pomanders, hooks, and laces unknotted;
Brooches, rings, and all manner of beads;
Laces, round and flat, for womans heads;
Needles, thred, thimbles, and such other knacks;
Where lovers be no suche thinge lacks;
Silkers swathbonds, ribands, and sleeve laces,
Girdles, knives, purses, and pin-cases.

Some time after the Pardoner asketh why

Women after their uprising
Bee so long in their appareling?

The Pedlar answers,

Forsooth women have many lets,
And they be masked in many nets,
As frontlets, fillets, partlets and bracelets,
And then their bonets, and their poynets.
By these lets and nets, &c.

Lingua,
written by
Ant. Brewer

Yet these are but modest accounts, to what we find in the old play of *Lingua*, written in the year 1607, the 4th of James the First, where Tactus (or *Touching*) says, " 'Tis five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, setting, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and bloomy cheeks; such a stir with sticks, and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodice, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rabatoes, borders, tires, fanns, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusses, fusses, partlets, frillets, bandlets, fillets, croflets, pendulets, annulets, amulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce drest to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk points, shoe ties, &c. that seven pedlars shops, nay all Stourbridge fair, will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigg'd by far, than a gentlewoman made ready."

Four Plays
in One, of
Beaumont &
Fletcher.

To the same purpose is the following speech of Craft, in the Representation of Four Plays in One, quoted above:

I went (*says she*) to Vanity, whom I found
Attended by an endless troop of taylors,
Mercers, embroiderers, feather-makers, fumers;
All occupations opening like a mart,

That

That serve to rig the body out with bravery;
And through the room new fashions flew like flies,
In thousand gaudy shapes Pride waited on her,
And busily surveying all the breaches
Time and decaying Nature had made in her,
Which still with art she piec'd again, and strengthen'd.—

————— She shew'd me gownes, head tires,
Embroider'd waistcoats, smocks seam'd through with cut-works,
Scarfs, mantles, petticoats, muffs, powders, paintings,
Dogs, monnies, parrots—all which shew'd me
Which way her money went, &c.

The reader, I hope, will excuse these long quotations; but as they convey to us several parts of dress not elsewhere to be found, I have thought the insertion of them absolutely necessary.

At the beginning, and before the reign of Elizabeth (says Howe) the making or wearing of silk buttons was very little, or not at all known to the common people, they having their buttons constantly made of the same stuff with their doublets, coats, and jerkins.—The honourable personages, as well women as men (continues he) did wear borders of great crystal buttons about their caps or hat-bands, to distinguish between the gentry and others: but in the 10th year of queen Elizabeth, many young citizens and others began to wear crystal buttons upon their doublets, coats and jerkins; and then the former wearing of borders, and hat-bands set with crystal buttons, ceased. And within a few years afterwards buttons of thread, of silk, of hair, and of gold and silver twist, became common, and were chiefly worn.

Stow's Chr.
pag. 1039.

Howe also informs us, that about the same time, nay even before, they began to wear buckles in their shoes; the gentlemen wore them either of silver, or copper gilt, whilst the common people wore them of copper only: but (says he) shoe roses, either of silk or stuff, were not then used, or even known; nor were scarfs above the value of four nobles, or thirty shillings at the most, worn by any persons whatsoever; nor garters above the price of six shillings a pair. But at this day (that is, about the latter end of the reign of James the First) men of mean rank wear garters and shoe roses at more than five pounds price each [see the figure of the earl of Somerset, Plate 16, N^o. 4].—But even these were but very moderate prices, if we may believe the words of Satan, in the Devil is an Ass, who there crying out at the extravagances of the age [this play was first acted anno 1616] says, that they had

The Devil
is an Ass,
by Johnson,

————— Tissue gowns

Garters and roses, fourscore pound a pair;

Embroidered stockings, cut-work smocks and shirts, &c.

But perhaps, as the Devil is the father of lies, he may here have stretch'd a little beyond the truth.—And some (continues Howe) wear scarfs from ten pound a-piece to thirty, nay and more. The same may be truly said concerning wrought waistcoats: time was when no workman knew how to make a wrought waistcoat worth five pounds, nor did any of the first lords of the land wear any

at that price, although at this day many milleners shops are stored with rich and curious embroidered waistcoats, of the full value of ten pound apiece, twenty pound, and some even forty pound.

Every Man out of his Humour, by Johnson. In Every Man out of his Humour is a passage which may perhaps throw some light upon the prices of a gallant's dress, towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign. Fungoso therein thus reckons up the cost of the beau Fastidio's habit: "Let me see (says he) the doublet; say fifty shillings the doublet, and between three and four pound the hose: then the boots, hat, and band; some ten or eleven pound will do it all."—And the above-mentioned

Fastidio, describing a duel between him and another, mentions these particulars of his dress: "I had on (says he) a gold cable hat-band, *then new come up*, [this play was first acted in the year 1599] of massie goldsmith's work, which I wore about a French murrey hat that I had, the brims of which were thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles; I had also an Italian cut-work band round my neck, ornamented with pearls, which cost me three pounds at the Exchange:—he (*the antagonist*) making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle, (I had thrown off the hangers a little before,) strikes off a skirt of a thick doublet I had, lined with four taffataes, cuts off two panes of embroidered pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh; and not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catch'd hold of the ruffle of my boot, which being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, and rends me two pair of silk stockings that I had put on (it being a raw morning) of a peach colour and another."—The dress of a beau of that age is also, in the same play, described by Asper in these words: "That a rook by a py'd feather,—the cable hat-band, or a three piled ruff,—a yard of shoe tye, or the Switzer's knot upon his French garters, should affect a humour!"

Stow's Chr.
fol. 1038.

Until the 10th or 12th year of queen Elizabeth, there were but few silk-shops in London, and those only kept by women, not by men as they now are; and at that time there was not so much silk in all the silk-shops, or so many sorts of gold or silver thread, and lace, as at this day are to be found in several various particular shops in Cheapside, and other places. At which time above-mentioned, and for three or four years afterwards, the citizens wives in general were constrained to wear white knit caps of woollen yarn, unless their husbands were possessed of great value in the queen's books, or could prove themselves gentlemen by descent. And then (adds Howe) ceased the wearing of *minevor* caps (otherwise three-cornered caps) which in former times was the usual head-dress for the ladies and matrons.*

And here, perhaps, it may not be improper to insert some few particulars relative to the dress amongst the citizens, which seems to have been peculiar to them.

* These *minevor caps* were white, and three-square, and the peaks thereof were full three or four inches from the head. But the aldermen's wives, and people of such stations, made themselves *bonnets* of velvet, after the fashion of the *minevor caps*, but larger, which made a great show upon the head. But these (adds my author) are now (An. Dom. 1631) almost forgotten.—Vide Stow's Chron. page 1039.

them. In the London Prodigal (written towards the latter end of the 16th, or early in the beginning of the 17th century) Civet the citizen says to Frances,

No Frank;—I'll have thee go like a citizen,
In a guarded gown, and a French hood.*

London
Prodigal,
thought to
be Shake-
spear's.

But Delia thinking this too fine, advises him to let her go like his own mother. —He returns, "There's a jest indeed! Why she went in a fringed gown, a single ruff, and a white coat; and my father in a mocado coat, a pair of sattin sleeves, and a sattin back."—This also confirms the historian's account (above quoted) that the children could not be content to go as their fathers had done, but were constantly aiming at something still more grand and pompous.

In the comedy of Eastward Hoe, the affected Girtred speaks to her modest sister with disdain, of her city habit:—"Do you wear (says she) your quoiff, with a London licket; your stamen petticoat, with two guards; the buffin gown, with the tuftaffitie cap, and the velvet lace?" And afterwards she expresses her contempt that her sister should be married in a taffata-hat.

Eastward
Hoe, first
print. 1605.

In the City Madam, Luke says to his sister, who is wife to a wealthy merchant,

The City
Madam, by
Massenger.

————— You wore
Sattin on solemn days, a chain of gold,
A velvet hood, rich borders,—and sometimes
A dainty minever cap,—a silver pin
Headed with a pearl, worth three-pence;—and thus far
You were privileg'd:—no man envied it,
It being for the city's honour, that
There should be a distinction made between
The wife of a Patrician and a Plebeian.

But (continues he) ever since your husband was knighted, the case was entirely alter'd;

The reverend hood cast off—your borrow'd hair,†
Powdered and curl'd, was by your dresser's art
Form'd like a coronet, hang'd with diamonds
And richest orient pearls; your caskanets

That

* The French hood was not indeed peculiar to the city alone, though much affected there. I am not able to ascertain its date, but I read of it as early as the reign of Henry the Eighth; for Hollingshead informs us that lady Ann of Cleves, the day after her arrival into England, was attired after the English fashion, with a French hood, which became her exceeding well. (Hollingshead, vol. 2, fol. 1577.)—Yet they seem to have been out of fashion when Massenger wrote his play of the City Madam, about the middle of the 17th century; for the maid seeing her young mistresses in French hoods, &c. cries out, "My young ladies in buffin gowns and green aprons! tear them off!—What, and a French hood too, now 'tis out of fashion! a fool's cap would be better!"—The lady, plate 22 of this vol. fig. 9, has the French hood upon her head.

† About the middle of the 17th century the ladies used to cut off their hair, and instead thereof wore perukes. We find many instances of this in the old plays. In the Blind Lady, written about that time, she (*the Blind Lady*) while she is dressing herself, calls for her *perriwig*; and in the Mad World my Masters, Sir Penitent Brothel speaks of Mrs. Hairbrain's *perriwig*.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

That did adorn your neck, of equal value;
 Your Hungerland bands, and Spanish Quellio ruffs;
 Great lords and ladies feasted to survey
 Embroider'd petticoats : and sickness feign'd,
 That your night-trails, of forty pounds apiece,
 Might be seen with envy of the visitants;
 Rich pantables, in ostentation shewn,
 And roses worth a family :—you were serv'd in plate,
 And stirred not a foot without a coach, &c.

This was (as he observes) transplanting the court fashions into the city, where they seem'd wond'rously to thrive; as we may gather not only from the speech just quoted, and various hints in the same play, but also from the continued complaints of almost all the Comedies of the 17th century. But to go on, and shew the City Madam in all her perfection, Luke farther adds,

————— And when you lay
 In child-bed, at the christning of this minx—(*one of her daughters*)
 I well remember it—as you had been
 An absolute princess, (since they have no more)
 Three several chambers hung; the first with arras,
 And that for the waiters; the second crimson sattin,
 For the meaner guests; the third of scarlet,
 Of the rich Tyrian dye;—a canopy
 To cover your brat's cradle;—you in state,
 Like Pompia's Julia.

City Match,
 by Jasper
 Maine.

In the old play called the City Match, Timothy, a rich citizen's son, complains that his father will not let him be gallant and fine in his habit; for, says he, "I never durst be seen, before my father, out of durette and serge.—And in the same play Mrs. Scruple says to Susan Seathrift, a rich merchant's daughter (who was habited like a court lady)

See, now you have not your wire,
 Nor city ruff on, mistress Sue, how these
 Clothes do beguile! In truth I took you for
 A gentlewoman.

How would good Mrs. Scruple's speech be taken in the present age? It would, I believe, be esteemed an unpardonable affront, to inform the daughter of a wealthy citizen, that, notwithstanding her fine cloaths and affected grandeur, she only resembled, and was not really a gentlewoman :—for now indeed all distinction in dress is laid aside, and the wearing of gold lace, rich silks, sattins, and every sort of finery, as well amongst the men as the women, is become so common, that it requires some acquaintance with a person, before you can possibly be able to conceive or know what their real station of life may be, as many people in the present times not only dress themselves out to the full

full extent of their circumstances, but too often go far beyond them, by which means they frequently ruin themselves, their families, and their friends.*

There were also some particularities of dress even amongst the apprentices of London; for, says Howe, "in the reign of Mary, and the beginning of queen Elizabeth's, all the apprentices in London wore blue cloaks in the summer, and in the winter blue gowns; but it was not lawful for any man, who was a servant, to have his gown lower than to the calves of his legs, except he were upwards of 60 years of age: but as the length of their cloaks was not limited, they used to wear them so long that they reached down to their heels: their (the apprentices) breeches and stockings were commonly of white broad-cloth; their slops or breeches were round, and their stockings sewed close upon them, as if they were all of one piece; they also wore flat caps, and not only they, but the journeymen also.—When (continues my author) prentices or journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night, they went before them, carrying a candle and lanthorn in their hands, and a long club on their shoulders; and many of the apprentices, bordering upon manhood, used to wear long daggers in the day-time, either at their backs or by their sides."

Stow Chron.
fol. 1039.

Ibid. 1040.

Yet, e'er we take our leave of the reign of Elizabeth, let us remark the gallantry of the beaux of that age, with the jewels and other ornaments in their ears, which was esteemed a mark of their polite taste.—Master Mathew, in Every Man in his Humour, proposes (among other things mentioned, to raise money for the warrant against Downright) "to pawn *the jewel* which was in his ear:"—and Fastidio, in Every Man out of his Humour, boasting of favours receiv'd from his mistress, says, "as this scarf," or "this *ribband* for my ear," or so; or "this feather grew in her sweet fan," sometimes, &c.—This ridiculous fashion, Bulver, in his Pedigree of the English Gallant, exclaims against.

Man Trans-
formed,
pag. 335.

Take the following speech of a gallant to his mistress, as it is found in the old play of George a Green, Pinner of Wakefield:

To dignify those haire of amber hiew,
I'll grace them with a chaplet made of pearle,
Set with choice rubies, sparkes, and diamonds,
Planted upon a velvet hood, to hide that head,
Wherein two saphires burne like sparkling fire, &c.

About the 40th year of Elizabeth (says Randal Holme) the old fashions, which were used in the beginning of her reign, were again revived, with some few additions made thereto, as *guises*, *double ruffs*, &c. The men likewise (beside the common use of the cloak) had a certain kind of loose hanging garment called a *mandevile*, much like to our jackets or jumps, but without sleeves, only

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
2014.

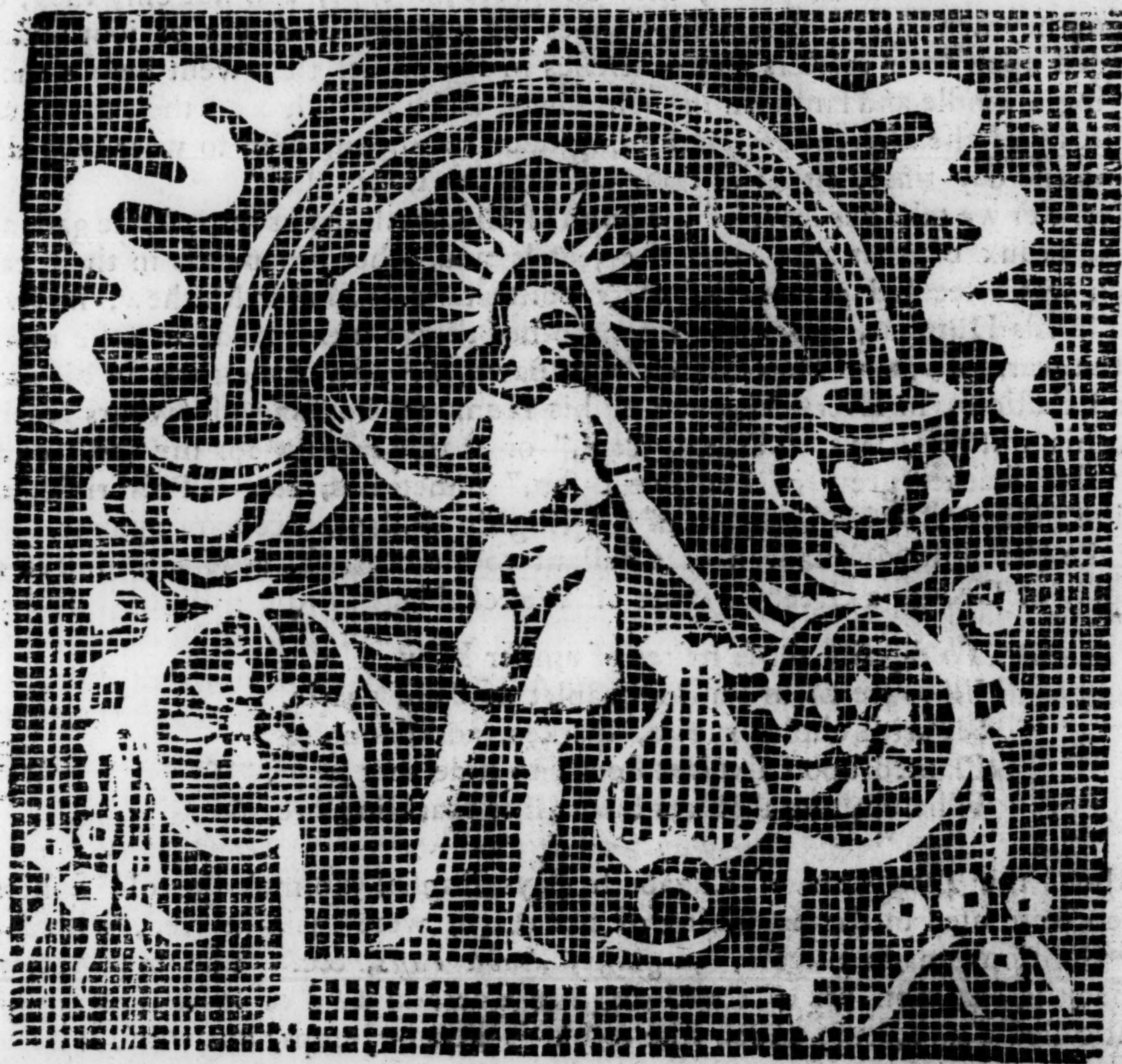
* Hollar has given engravings of several various habits, as well of the nobility and gentry, as of the citizens and common people. So also Speed (in his Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World) round the sides of his map of England, has given the habit of the nobleman, the lady,—the gentleman, the gentlewoman,—the citizen, the citizen's wife,—the country man, and the country woman, as habited in the year 1631, the 6th year of Charles the First, when his book was published.

only having holes to put the arms through; yet some were made with sleeves, but for no other use than to hang on the back.

These above-mentioned were the principal habits which, with their several cuttings and dressings, wore out her time, but with constant alterations; for sometimes they were broad and standing out, at other times narrow, and close to the body; now long, then wide, and then again short, never standing at one stay.

Patternes
for Lace,
printed by
John Wolfe.

Now, by way of conclusion, take the following pattern of lace, extracted from a book printed at London, by John Wolfe, 1591, intituled "New and singular Patternes and Workes of Linnen, serving for Patternes to make diverse Sortes of Lace; wherein are represented unto us the seaven Planets, and many other Figures."—This which follows is for a representation of Apollo, or the sun:



Apollo is here figured leaning with his left-hand upon his lyre, having the rays of the sun round his head, with a cloud over it, and a rain-bow, which arises from a large vase on either side, standing upon an ornament of flowered work; and each of the upper corners is ornamented with a light cloud.—The above book contains a vast variety of other figures; to which I refer the curious reader.

When

"When king James came to the crown, many, nay most of the old fashions used in the days of Elizabeth, came up again one after another, as we shall hereafter see.

In 1614, the great breeches were again revived, as may be seen by the figures N^o. 3 and 4, plate 19; and indeed the same appears from N^o. 1, 2, 3, and 4, plate 16, all of which are early in the reign of James the First. Here we may see the expensive garters and curious shoe roses, as mentioned in the preceding reign.—Nor were the women exempt from these expences. In the City Madam a lady says, "these roses would show well, and 'twere the fashion for the garters to be seen."

But of all the ridiculous fashions, that of the men wearing stays (as the earl of Somerset, N^o. 4, plate 16) is perhaps the most so. The large monstrous farthingale, the ruff, and expensive head-dress, may also be seen in the lady, his wife.

Mrs. Otter, in the Silent Woman, standing much on her gentility, talks of her black sattin gown, her wire ruff (the wire ruff I take to be the standing-up ruff worn by the ladies, as represented N^o. 6, plate 14, N^o. 4, plate 16, and N^o. 10, plate 22) and then she speaks of her new suit, namely, a crimson sattin doublet with black velvet skirts.

Silent Woman, by Johnson.

But from the grandees pass we on to the middling sort. Take the habit of a rich clothier's widow:—"She came out of the kitchen, in a fair train gown stuck full of silver pins; a white cap on her head, with cuts of curious needle-work under the same, and an apron before her as white as the driven snow."—And here I note also the dress of a spruce master taylor, who was a suitor to the fore-mentioned widow, which was "a new russet jerkin, and a tall sugar-loaf hat clapp'd on one side of his head."

The History of Jack of Newbury.

The pretty description of the maidens habits (who were working in their different occupations, as spinning, winding, &c. of the wool for the loom) in the clothier's song, I shall (as far as concerns the present design) set forth; it runs as follows:

And in a chamber close beside
Two hundred maidens did abide,
In petticoats of stammel red,
And milk white kerchers on their head;
Their smock sleeves like to winter's snow
That on the western mountains flow,
And each sleeve with a silken band
Was fairly tied, at the hand:
Which pretty maids did never lin,
But in that place all day did spin, &c.

At this time a silk gown and the French hood, with chains and bracelets, were only worn by people of rank: for in the History of John Newchombe, a clothier of Newbury,—when he, by his profession, had amassed considerable wealth, and was so much respected that he was elected a member of the house of commons, he purchased the above habit and ornaments for his wife, which was

Ibid.

much wondered at by the neighbours, as something very strange and uncommon. And when he (the said John Newchombe) was desirous of passing his maid for a lady, upon a knight who had ruined her, he purchased for her a fair taffaty gown and a French hood.—And that this sort of habit commanded respect, we may learn from Johnson's Tale of a Tub, where Dame Turfe rebukes her man

Tale of a Tub. for his familiarity with Lady Tub, saying, "How now, you saucy puppy! to use no more reverence unto a lady in a velvet gown!"

Hist. of Geo. Dobson. The young gentleman was distinguished by his good suit of apparel, his cloak and his rapier.—The merchant's dress, at that time, was a plain grave suit of print. 1607. clothes, with a black cloak.

Tale of a Tub, first acted 1609. In the Tale of a Tub, by Johnson, we meet with the habit of a rustic, upon his intended wedding day;—"a leather doublet with long points, and a pair of breeches pinn'd up like pudding-bags, with yellow stockings, and his hat turn'd up with a silver clasp on the leer side."

Pass we on now to the reign of Charles the First; and the reader is referred to N^o. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of plate 16, together with N^o. 1 and 2, plate 17, all which are representations of the habits during his reign.—Here we seem almost entirely to have lost the large ruffs, both in the dress of the women as well as the men, and instead thereof they have substituted large bands, and kerchers (falsely so named) of rich point and curious lace; and the almost universal custom with the men of wearing boots and spurs, insomuch that they were seldom seen without them; which fashion also prevailed during great part of the succeeding reign.—In the Lost Lady, written by Sir William Barclay, Ergasto, a court gallant, is thus described, "He wears a deep band, a short cloak, and great boots, so that he looks three stories high."—The wearing boots for riding, and indeed for ornament, I see is at least as ancient as the latter end of the reign of Richard the Second; for where he resigns his crown to Henry earl of Hereford (represented plate 32 of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England. there is a figure who has a boot on one leg and a shoe on the other; which extraordinary specimen of gallantry was all of a piece with the wearing of their hose of different colours on each leg, of which there are several instances in the work above quoted: and we meet with boots frequently worn by the heralds and messengers, who are supposed to be much on horseback (see in the life of Beauchamp, vol. 2, plate 19, 33, 34, &c.)—They were also much affected in the reign of Elizabeth, and of what constructions they were, we may learn from Bobadil, to whom (when he takes off his silk stockings to pawn, for the obtaining of a warrant against Downright) Master Matthew says, "Pull up your boots, and the want of your stockings will not be observed."

Amongst the commoner sort of people, as farmers, labouring men, and the like, high shoes were usually worn, though not so much for ornament as on account of their usefulness. In the old play of Albumazar, Trincalo the Farmer, being turned gallant, says "his high shoes are changed into strait boots."—High shoes are also frequently (in country places) worn by the poor people to this day; they have a leather, the which comes up to the middle of the leg, and laces all the way down before, to the instep.

Amongst

Amongst the other enormities of shoes, before mentioned in this work, Bulver exclaims against those which the women wore in his days; namely, a sort of shoes raised up to a great height, with thick soles and very high heels (see fig. 7, plate 17, of this volume).—Of a worse species we may reckon those of the present age, so very high at the heels, whilst the sole are of a moderate thinness, insomuch that, from the vast rising of the heel, the women are obliged almost to walk upon their toes.*

Pantofles, or slippers, were much worn by the ladies in the morning, whether in their chambers, or when they walked out; which were often very richly ornamented. Thus, in the Guardian,

The Guardian, by
Massenger.

A thin night mantle, to hide part of your smock,
With pearl embroider'd *pantofles* upon your feet.

I should also suppose that they are a sort of slippers which Gascoigne the poet (plate 15) has upon his feet: if they are not, I confess I know not what name to give to them.

The gentleman, N^o. 5, plate 16, I rather think is in a riding habit; and I am sure that nothing can be said against the decent apparel of the lady, N^o. 6 of the same plate; nor indeed of her N^o. 8. The hair, so hanging in loose curling ringlets, is extremely picturesque and elegant. The last lady has her stomacher adorned with two knots of ribbands, and wears about her neck a handsome kercher of rich point lace.—These elegant and pretty fashions Vandyke, that king of portrait painters, has improved, and varied according to his fancy, in the multitude of his beautiful paintings of many of the chief personages of the realm; and though he has taken the liberty allow'd to all painters, of giving the draperies a loose and flowing air, yet he has, generally speaking, attended very closely to the habit of the times, in which there is something extremely pleasing and striking.—The figure of the gentleman, N^o. 7, plate 16, has the bottom of his breeches ornamented with points, or ribbands tied up in knots; and the figure, N^o. 9, has a sort of lace bound round at the bottom of his knees. Perhaps to this ornament the old blunt Lord in Cupid's Revenge alludes, when he says to a beau,

Cupid's Revenge, by
Beaumont &
Fletcher.

The wars will hurt thy face; there's no sempsters
Shoemakers, nor taylors, nor almond milk i' th' morning,
Nor poach'd eggs, to keep thy worship soluble.
No man to warm your shirt, and blow your roses,
Nor none to reverence your *round laced breeches*, &c.

O 2

We

* Add to these another sort, mentioned by the Country Girl, in Willy Beguiled, where she says, "Upon the morrow after the blessed new year, I came trip, trip, trip, over the Market-hill, holding up my petticoat to the calves of my legs, to show my fine coloured stockings, and how finely I could foot it in a pair of new *cork'd shoes* I had bought." This play of Willy Beguiled was written in the early part of the reign of James the First.—See Hawkins's collection of old plays, intituled "The Origin of the English Drama," vol. 3, page 356.

We now begin to find silk stockings so very common, that none who would pretend to the least gentility could make a decent appearance without them; infomuch that, in an old play, a person saith, "Good parts, without habiliments of gallantry, are no more set by, in these times, than a good leg in a worsted stocking."—The women also wore stockings of silk as well as men. Peter (in the Honest Whore) when Bellafront his mistress calls for him, answers that he is drawing up a hole in her "*white silk stockings*;" and Satan, in the Devil is an Ass (heretofore quoted) tells us, that they wore *embroider'd stockings*. But whether this was at the clocks, as in the present age, I am not able to determine. Of which species of finery we have seen many specimens, amongst the finish'd gallants of late years; oftentimes the clocks of the stockings wrought with silk of different colours, and sometimes also with gold and silver thread:—and I fancy that I may pronounce the before-mentioned embroideries were of the same kind; for it is most certain that wrought clocks, with great staring flowers, &c. were very much affected in the last century.

Johnson, in his comedy of the New Inn, which was first acted in the year 1631, the 6th of Charles the First, has given the following lines, as descriptive of the finished beau of that age:

I would (*says he*) put on
The Savoy chain,—about my neck the ruff,
The cuffs of Flanders; then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband, and the Florentine agate;
The Milan sword, the cloak of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons;—all my given pieces;
My gloves the natives of Madrid,—&c.

About this time, and long before, the common wearing of gold chains by the gentry was in fashion. In the Puritan, Sir Godfrey, an old knight, when he has lost his chain. cries out, that it had at least 3000 links, and cost full 300 crowns.—Various other instances may be brought, but let what is said suffice.

Stewards in great mens houses wore chains of gold, or else of copper gilt, as also certain other of the domestics; as may appear from the old ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury; one verse of which song runs thus:

Vide
Reliques of
Anc. Poetry,
V. 2. p. 309.

A hundred men, the king did heare say,
The abbot kept in his house every day,
And fifty *gold chaynes*, without any doubt,
In velvet coates, waited the abbot about.

And in Every Man out of his Humour, Carlo, advising Soligardo how he should appear like a court gallant, tells him, he must have a fellow with a *great chain* (though it be copper) to bring him letters, feign'd from such a nobleman, knight, or lady, and also keep men gallant at the first, in fine pyed liveries, laid with gold lace.

Here we may also speak of rings, which are of very antient date, nay they were used in this kingdom as long as we have any records, and were always worn

worn by every sort of people who could afford to purchase them, not only women, but men also.—In ancient times those made of chrystal were esteemed, for in the antique ballad of King Estmere, his daughter is thus described :

The tallents of gold were on her head sette,
Hunge lowe downe to her knee;
And everye ryng on her smalle finger
Shone of the chrystall free.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
V. I, p. 67.

The Aldermen were distinguished by the thumb ring, as may appear from various passages in plays, ballads, &c.—Thus Falstaff, speaking of his youth, adds, that then “he was so thin, that he could have crept through an alderman’s thumb ring.”

The ladies in general used to wear a vast number of rings, and also upon either hand. In the Witts, one speaking of his mistress’s extravagances, says, “I’ll waste her to her wedding smock, and her *single ring*, bodkin, and velvet muff.”—In the verses before quoted in this chapter, from Barclay’s “*Ship of Foles of the Worlde*,” is also, “*their fingers full of rings*,” &c. And surely in the present age we lose no ground in this old and lasting fashion; for the fingers of our modern ladies often sparkle with set stones, and gems in rings of gold, to a vast amount.

Vid. pag. 76

In the reign of Charles the Second, the fashions sustained many various alterations, every one of them for the worse, being each more absurd than the former.—In 1648, the first year of his reign, we find some alteration in the doublet, (see N^o. 3, plate 17,) and the breeches have the knees loose, and bound round with ribbands, puff’d on, and little tags pendant from each puff; the stockings are loose upon the legs, and the boots remarkable short, with a sort of ruffle within-side of them.—The next figure (N^o. 4) is the poor man, in the habit of that same time: he (in the print from whence both these figures are copied) is opposed to the other, (N^o. 3,) who appears to be a rich man, and person of distinction.

In 1649 we find an alteration in the habit from the former figures; see the gentleman, N^o. 6 of the same plate. This figure represents John Lilbourne, as pleading at the bar: he wears a kind of waistcoat, with short sleeves, and large cuffs coming but little below the elbow; and from thence to his wrist appears another closer sleeve, over which his ruffle or linen cuff is turned up. His breeches, or rather trowsers, are not so wide, nor so loose, as those of the former; they are ornamented down the side, upon the seam: round the bottom, at the knees, the ribbands are much in the same fashion with the former. His boots are still higher, and also have within them, at the tops, an appearance of a ruffle, or loose lining.

In the year 1658 we meet with great alteration (see N^o. 8, plate 17). Here we see the open sleeve and the short-waisted doublet, with the petticoat breeches, the lining of which (says Randal Holme) came lower than the breeches, and tied above the knee. The sides of these breeches were ornamented with ribbands from the bottom to the pocket-holes, on either side, half the breadth of each thigh;

thigh; and all round the bottom ran a single row of ribbands. Some space was left between the bottom of the doublet and the waistband of the breeches, so that the shirt might be seen hanging out over it, all round. The stockings were gartered below the knee.

In the same year also was worn the large stirrop hose (or stockings) two yards wide at the top (see N^o. 14, plate 22) which, with points through several iletholes, were made fast to the petticoat breeches, at bottom of which there hung a single row of pointed ribbands. This fashion (says the above-mentioned author) first came to Chester with Mr. William Ravenscraft, who came to thence from France, in September, 1658.—See also the habit of the common man at that time, N^o. 9, plate 17; and N^o. 10, of the same plate, exhibits the figure of a gallant in the year 1659. He also has the short jacket with the open sleeves, and the petticoat breeches, tied with points to the jacket. These breeches are ornamented with two rows of ribbands, the one near the top, the other near the bottom; the lining comes lower than the bottom of the breeches, and ties round just below the knee, where the stockings are also fastened.—About August in the same year, men wore the large stirrop hose, fastened to the breeches with points, (see N^o. 13, plate 22,) and another pair of hose drawn over them to the bottom of the knee, and so turned down.

About the same time was worn a cap of velvet (like that represented N^o. 7, plate 22) which had what were called ears, turn'd up, and tied with a ribband on either side to the crown. These could be occasionally let down in cold weather, to keep their own ears warm.—The hose bagging over the garters also were worn much about the same time (see N^o. 22, plate 22).

Take the truly ridiculous habit of 1662 from the figure of Charles the Second himself (see N^o. 2, plate 19).—From his short jacket, the shirt hangs a little over the waistband of the breeches, which is ornamented with a double row of ribbands; and at the side appears another double row of ribbands hanging down. His curious wide-topp'd stockings are gartered just below his knee, and so turn'd down: the tops of these stockings are ornamented with curious work and flowers. His square-toed shoes are tied with ribbands in four bows.

His queen (who is represented with him) has nothing very particular in her habit, except the slit sleeves of her gown, and the nakedness of her breast, which is without any handkerchief; and the tucker, instead of standing up round her neck, is turn'd down upon her stays. This custom of bareing the bosom was much exclaimed against by the authors of that age.

In the year 1672 a book was published, intituled “New Instructions unto Youth for their Behaviour, and also a Discours upon some Inovations of Habits and Dressings; against powdering of Hair, naked Breasts, black Spots, and other unseemly customs.”—On the back of the title page, the author has given two ladies heads, the one representing Virtue, and the other Vice. Virtue is represented by a lady modestly habited, with a black velvet hood, and a plain white kercher on her neck with a border. Vice, on the contrary, is set forth without any handkerchief, and her stays cut low, which discovers great part of the breasts, and various black spots or patches upon her face.

Printed for
Wm. Lee,
at London,
1672.

Pedigree of
the English
Gallant,
fol. 535, &
543 & 4.

Bulver also, with several others, cries out lustily against these fashions; and I believe they prevailed at last with the ladies to cover their breasts. Yet the patches

patches stood out a long time, and bid them all defiance; for they continued to be used by the ladies till within these fifteen or twenty years.

There yet remains a still more abominable custom, namely, painting of the face, together with using washes and various arts to improve and heighten the complexion.—These curious arts the moderns must not arrogate to themselves the invention of, for assuredly they are of very ancient date; though the first mention that I remember to have seen of painting being used in England, is in a very old MS. which is preserv'd in the Harleian Library, which I should suppose is full as old as the 14th century;—wherein I find a recipe

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 16054

For to make a fayr face.

Moeng to gyder the milk of an asse, and of a blak kow and bymstone, of everych y lucke moche (of each a like quantity) and anoynte thy face, so thu shalt be fayr and hwyte (white).

To make a red colour, the face was first to be anointed with a certain mixture, the name of which is so obliterated in the MS. that I could not make it out; that done, the person was to “be in a bath, that he mighte swete wel, and after wasch hys face wyth wyne, and so schulde he be (both) fayre and rody,”

Another recipe I find perfect.

For to make thy face hwyte.

Tak a pounce of alum, the plume and the hwyte of 20 eyen (that is, the white and yolk of 20 eggs) raw, and meng tham togyder, and after tak the rote of jasse, and bray hit yn a mortar, and medle hit togyder, and do theto 4 ounces of enose, and after distille hit by a lembyk, and the water maketh the fersche, and yonglech, and hwyte.

In the old play called the Honest Whore, Bellafront, the courtezan, being about to dresse herself, her toilet is set forth; to wit, “a table, a cushion, a looking-glass, and a chafing-dish, with a small phial of white mixture, and two little pots, one of white, the other of red paint.” But I should here remark, that the chafing dish seems to be for the heating of the irons wherewith she curls her hair.—In the City Madam, a damsel exclaims against her doctor, for sending her cerusses to paint with, which were too common: “He ought (adds she) to have let me had some fresh oil of talc.”—And in Johnson's Comedy of the Devil is an Ass, a woman is recommended to the ladies, who has excellent recipes for the face:—“such oils, such tinctures, such pomatums, such perfumes, medicines, quintessences, &c.”

The Honest
Whore, by
Tho. Deker,

City Madam

The Devil
is an Ass.

Nor were the beaux of that age (namely, the beginning of the 17th century) exempt from this abhorrible custom, as may appear in the old Comedy of the Widow. Valeria says therein to Ricardo, “Are you painted? One painted beau has just been here!”—He replies, “Here! a pox, I think I smell him! 'Tis vermillion, sure; ha! and oil of Ben.” &c.

The Widow
Vid. ut supra

The figures represented plate 18, of this volume, exhibit the habit of the year 1663, or thereabout, N^o. 1, 2; and 6 are gentlemen, the two first in their hunting and hawking habits, the last in the common dress; 3, 5, 7, and 9, are

are rustics; 4 is a huntsman, and 8 the falconer, or keeper of the hawks. These last were a sort of people that noblemen and principal gentlemen were never without, but kept them constantly in pay, to attend them when they went a sporting.

In the year 1667 the women wore a sort of garment called Saviarde (see N^o. 17, plate 22) which had four side laps, which were usually of a strip'd silk of various colours, with short sleeves; and in 1670 they wore linen sleeves, with ribbands above the elbows and at the wrists, as is seen N^o. 19, plate 22: and in the reign of king William and queen Mary, that enormous high head-dress (see N^o. 15, of the above plate) was in fashion; and when that was done with, another (as represented N^o. 16, of the same plate) was introduced, which, with little alteration, was worn by the ancient ladies, even in the memory of man. About the same time were in fashion, petticoats with gold or silk fringe at the bottom: some ladies of taste used to have three, four, five, and sometimes six rows in the height, which was called by them so many feet; others had the fringes not in strait rows, but scollop'd, and in various other fashions, as they pleased.—Then also their gown sleeves, with long ruffles and ruffle-cuffs, began, as may be seen N^o. 20, of the same plate.

But to return to the reign of Charles the Second. In 1667 the men wore such a habit as is represented N^o. 18, of plate 22. The tunic was long, reaching down below the knees, bound round the waist with a zone or girdle; and the vest, or outward coat, was loose, with large sleeves, exactly like the great coat of the present age.

At the latter end of Charles the Second's reign, the habit was as is represented on plate 19, N^o. 1, 5, 6 and 7. The first is a baronet, N^o. 5 the knight, N^o. 6 the gentleman, and 7 the groom or commoner —These habits, with very little alteration, continued during the whole reign of James the Second, and great part of William and Mary's time.

Here we have traced through the various dresses of this realm, till we at last have come to the coat, the waistcoat, breeches, &c. which, with various shortenings, lengthenings, cutting and contriving, hath remained to this very day.—In the figures above-mentioned, we see the breeches are tied below the knee; about thirty years ago they were buttoned above (for buttons were then used, instead of the ties, and a knee-buckle fastening with a strap) and now again they are got below the knee, as they were before.

We may here observe, that in the reign of Charles the Second men did first begin to wear wigs, and those most enormous ones; but they were made still larger in his brother James's reign, and more especially in that of William and Mary, at which time not only men, but even children and young lads, also wore large wigs. And though in the reign of queen Anne this latter custom was not so common, yet the young men had the want of wigs supplied by artificial curlings, and dressing of the hair, which was then only performed by the women.

Collection
in Harl. Lib.
mark. 5931.

In the large collection of title pages, &c. in the Harleian Library, I meet with the two following Bills:

The

The first had the queen's arms, with A. R. at the top; and under it the contents of the bill run thus—

Next Door to the Golden Bell, in St. Bride's-Lane, Fleet-Street,

Lyveth LIDIA BEERCRAFT,

Who cutteth and curleth ladies, gentlemen and childrens hair.—She sells a fine pomatum, which is mix'd with ingredients of her own makeing, that if the hair be never so thin, it makes it grow thick; and if short, it makes it grow long.—If any gentleman's or childrens hair be never so lank, she makes it curle in a little time, and to look like a perriwig.

Another fair tonsoress promises to cut and curl all ladies and gentlewomens hair extremely fine, after the *French* fashion: she also dresses the hair as fine upon caps, which is the nicest way of dressing, and is not performed by all that profess cutting of hair.—She cuts and curls all boys hair, after so fine a manner, that you shall not know it to be their own hair.

The Reader must excuse the Coarseness of the English.

Oh monstrous! that counterfeiting what is unnatural should be esteemed a beauty. This reflects but little honour to the taste of our grandfathers.—Surely in this one instance we are greatly improved; for wig-makers now in their advertisements boast, on the contrary, of making the fine natural wigs, so like a person's own hair that the difference shall hardly be discovered.—It is very just and natural, that one who has by any cause lost his own hair, should so wish to supply that defect as it may be least observed. But alas! (though in this one circumstance our taste is improved, do not the *macaronies* and *fops* of the present age fully equal, if not exceed, the preposterous patterns of their gallanting forefathers? Do not the ladies now, who hang all all sorts of fruit upon their heads, nay some who place thereon a sow and pigs, with other curious animals, almost, nay quite equal the broad-wheel waggon, the coach and horses, and various other pretty inventions of the ingenious milleners, about fifty years ago?—This custom Dean Swift has sufficiently ridiculed. Oh that he were now living, what a fund of matter is there at present set forth for his satirical abilities to work upon!

During the whole of the last century, and even in the beginning of the present, it was the fashion for the ladies, when they walked or rode abroad, or went to the play, or other places of diversion, &c. to wear masks, which in general covered only part of the face, reaching down to the bottom of the nose, so that the mouth and chin might be seen, as also part of the forehead.

About fifty years ago the ladies wore large broad hoops, with petticoats so short that half their legs were discovered; which fashion being justly censured and ridiculed, at last was altered, and such habits as now are worn were introduced in their stead.

But to what a length have I unavoidably spun out this chapter; yet, lest I should tire my reader, let it here finish, and go we on to the

BANQUETS, &c.

Before I proceed with the continuation of this subject, I beg leave to make some few additions to what has already been said in the two former volumes, especially some quotations which will elucidate certain of the curious obsolete customs and ceremonies thereto relating, which I have lately met with.—The MS. in the first addition is from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library, written on vellum, as early as the reign of king Henry the Sixth at least. It respects the old customs and state of the king's household, at chief feasts. I have faithfully copied it from the MS. where it runs as follows :

“ At all principall festes the tresoror of the housholde aught to wayte upon the kyng by hys office, to delyver hym hys offoyng (*perhaps offering*) and to kisse it. Also the styward of housholde by his office, may fitte in the halle, undyr the clothe of astate, at dyverse festes; seyng that the seide cloth be rolled up higher than his hede: and shall be served covered, by the kinges servaunts and officeres: In his absence the tresoror of housholde, to be served in the hall, &c.; and in the absence of the styward and tresoror, the countroller may be served in the hall, &c. Also the aforesaide styward aught, when he is in the kynges house, to calle before hym twyse or thryse an a weke, or elles every other day, the hufbondes of the kynges house and foursears, that is to say the sergeauntes of every office, and principall officers; that doone, the styward for the tyme beyng, or ellis the tresoror of housholde, in hys absence, shall comaunde bothe wyne and ale, and their comaundement aught to be kept and fulfilled; and they of the *pecher house* ought, or oone of them by their office, to be withinne the cupbord, purveyde of the same, that the service may be redy whan they ar comaunded.—The 4 marchalls of the halle, or elles 2 of them for the tyme beyng, aught to be wisse, discrete, and personable; to have undyrstondyng of fuych perones as be honorable, and straungers to besett at theyr boorde; and therfor theyr service is ordeyned, to be *barnes servyce* and the more large, and in abundaunce ar theyr comaundementes, &c. The yomen ushers aught to bee walking in the halle, and the gromes in lykewyse to ovyr see the sittynge of the halle, and to have recourse to the marchalles, if need be.—Whanne the hall is sett, the tresoror aught to be served furst; which tresoror, if he be a knyght, oweth to be in his fercote of velvet, at pryncipalle festes; and if he be a squyer, he ought to have upon hym a fercote of sad morrey, furred with gray; the wampeles that hangyn upon hys shulders, aught to be furred with the same, and above the purfyle to have a rebond of sylver, as a knyght and an officer hath of golde: state shall he kepe noone but in the halle. The kervers aught to be knyghted; where evyr they be, they fitte as banrettus, and aught to be served therafyr; and a questyone it is to make, wether the chief juge shulde be in degre above them, or they above hym: The questyone may soone be affoyled, &c. As for the grete chambre, there aught to be 2 boordes, the oone for the byfshoppes, and the secunde for the chaumberleyne; the byfshoppes

owen

owen to have at their boorde the kynges chaplyns; the chamberleyne ought to fitte in the inner side of hys boorde, and to be pryncipall at the boorde; next hym the lordes, knyghtes, and squyers for the body;—the ushers of the chambre, next the dore to the kyng; the sergeaunte porter aught to be lodged next the gate, and to have hys service dayly at the gate, for hym and for all such officers as wayte upon the kyng at the gate, for sewrte of the same, and to be served *barnys service* largely, and often tymes at hys comaundements, for bycause of lordes, knyghtes, and squyres, that sitten with hym, for the tyme beyng, or other straungers. And when the kyng is servyde of the fyrst course, all men aught to voyde the chambre, but such officers as is assigned to wayte upon the prynce.—And as for such pryncipall dayes, as ony bisshoppe seith masse, he owith to wafshe when the kyng doth wafshe, and to fitte at the kynges boorde, on the kynges right hand, and to be served covered.—Whanne the secunde course is servid inne, anoone astyr the marchalle of the melodye aught to goo to the chamberleyn, or elles to the ushers of the chambre, that they may understande the kynges pleasure of their entrynge; and the melody doone, the kyng of armes, and the herawdes ought to go to oon of the seyd officeres, to undyrstonde the kynges pleasure, for theyr meryment; which ought to be doone as wisely, and as dyscretely, and as worshipfully, as it can be doone. That doone, they (*the heralds*) ought to come to the kynges chambre doore, and to remember wele the kynges tytle, and hys astate, and the crye of larges;—that doone they aught to goo, and crye larges in the kynges halle, in the prefence of them all such as fitte in the halle;—and that doone, they may goo to the wyne celler, and comaund wyne.—The trompettes aught, at pryncipall festes, to blowe at every course, both at the gate, and throughe the halle, &c.”

Our ancestors (that is, such of them as were rich and opulent) used constantly to have music at their feasts and grand entertainments. This old Chaucer, in his Parson's Tale, maketh note of in the following words:—“Also in excesse of

Chaucer's
Canterbury
Tales.

And after him, Pierce Plowman makes Sloth say,

Could I lye to do men laughe, than lacher I shoulde
Other mantill or money; amonges lordes minstrels;
And for I can neither taber, ne tumppe, ne tell no gesses,
Forten ne fissen at fealles, ne harpen,
Tape ne juggle, ne gentilly pype,
Ne neither saylen, ne saute, ne synge to the gyttre,
I have no good gistes of the great lordes, &c.

Pier. Plow-
man Passus
Decimus
Tertius.

The same is also confirmed by the old songs and ballads; this being the chief occupation of the minstrels, who then used to play upon the harp, and sing thereto the popular stories and romantic rhymes of the ancient heroes, amongst which the British Arthur stands in great repute.

Boke of
Kervynge,
print. 1508.

The next addition which I shall here subjoin, is from an old printed booke intituled "The Booke of Kervynge," printed by Wynkin de Worde, Ann. Dom. 1508. It contains the directions necessary for the butler panter, or yeoman of the sellar, concerning the manner in which they should spread the king's table, &c.—It runs thus:

"Serve your soverayne with wafers, and ypocras. Also loke your composte be fayre and clene, and your ale fyve dayes olde before men drynke it, and be curtoys of. answere to eche persone; and whan ye laye the clothe, wpe the borde clene with a cloute (*cloth*); then lay a cloth* (a couch it is called) take your feluwe, that one ende, and holde you the other ende, then drawe the clothe straught, the bought on the utter edge, take the utter parte and hange it even, then take the thyrde clothe, and laye it bought on the inner edge, and laye estat with the upper parte halfe a fote brode, the cover thy cupborde, and thyn ewery with the towel of dyaper; than take thy towell about thy necke, and laye that on syde of the towel upon thy lefte arme, and thereon laye your soveraynes napkyn, and on thyn arme seven loves of brede, with thre or foure trenchour loves, with the ende of the towel, in the lefte hande as the maner is; then take thy salte seler in thy lefte hande, and take the ende of the towell in your ryght hand, to bear in spones and knyves; than set your salte on the ryght syde, where your soverayne shall sytte, and on the lefte syde the salte set your trenchoures; than laye your knyves,† and set your brede one love by another; your spones, and your napkyns, fayre folden besyde your brede; than over your brede, and trenchours, spones, and knyves, and at every ende of the table set a salte seler, with two trenchour loves, and yf ye wyll wrappe youre soveraynes brede statly, ye must square and proporcyon your brede, and see that no love be more than another; and then shall ye make your wrapper manly; than take a towell of reynes, of two yerdes and an halfe, and take the towell by the endes double, and laye it on the table; than take the ende of the bought a handfull in your hande, and wrape it harde, and laye the ende so wrapped betwene two towells, upon that ende so wrapped laye your brede, bottom to bottom fix or seven loves; than set your brede manerly in fourm, and when your soveraynes table is thus arrayed, cover all other bordes with salt, trenchours, and cuppes; also se thyn ewery be arrayed with basyns, and ewers, and water, hote and colde; and se ye have napkins, cuppes and spones; and se your pottes for wyne and ale be made clene, and to the furnape make curtesy, with a clothe, under a fayre double napry; than take the towelles ende nexte you, and the utter ende of the clothe, on the utter syde of the table, and holde these three endes atones, and folde them atones, that a plyte passé not a fote brode; than laye it as it shoulde lye:

* Table-cloths anciently were made of great value, for the use of the nobility and opulent gentry. In Johnson's *Silent Woman*, Mrs. Otter mentions her damask table-cloth, which cost eighteen pounds.

† I find here no mention of forks. It is strange that so useful and cleanly an utensil should not have been of more ancient date; but of certainty, in all the old delineations of feasts, &c. I find knives and spoons, but never either forks, or any things which might seem likely to supply their place.

lye: and after mete washe with that, that is at the ryght ende of the table, ye must guyde it out and the marshall must convey it; and loke on eche clothe, the ryght syde be outwarde, and drawe it streyght; than must ye reyse the upper parte of the towell, and laye it without ony grouyng, and at every ende of the towell, ye must convey halfe a yerde that the sewer may make reverently and let it be. And whan you soverayne hath washen, drawe the furnape even; than bere the furnape to the myddes of the borde, and take it up before your soverayne, and bere it into the ewery agayne; and whan your soverayne is set, loke your towell be aboute your neck; than make your soverayne curtesy; than uncover your brede, and set it by the salt, and laye your napkin, knyfe, and spon, afore hym; * than knele on your knee, till the purpayne passe eyght loves; and loke ye set at your endes of the table foure loves at a messe; and se that every persone have napkyn and spon, and wayte well to the sewer, how many dyshes be covered, that so many cuppes cover ye; than serve ye forth the table manerly, that every man may speke your curtesy.—Here endeth of the butler, and panter, yoman of the sellar, and ewery.”

In the same book we are told that the waiters should serve fasting, “butter, plommes, damesons, cheryes, and grapes; after mete, peres, notts (*nuts*), strawberyes, mirtleberyes, and hard chese, also brandrels, or pepyns, with caraway in confetes.”

Here also we may add the terms of carving, as then in use, from the same book above quoted.

Ibid. Lib.
fol. 1. B.

“The Termes of a Kerver be as here followeth:

“Breke that dere,—lesche that brawne,—rere that goose,—lyste that swanne,—saue that capon,—spoyle that hen,—fruche that chekyn,—unbrace that mallard,—unlace that conye,—dysmembre that heron,—display that crane,—disfigure that peacocke,—unjoynt that bytture,—untache that curlewe,—alaye that felande,—wynges that partryche,—wynges that quayle,—mynce that plover,—thye that pygion,—border that pasty,—thye that woodcocke,—thye all maner smalle byrdes,—tymbre that fyre,—tyere that egge,—chynne that samon,—strynges that lampreye,—splat that pyke,—saue that plaice,—saue that tench,—splaye that breme,—syde that haddock,—tuske that berbell,—culpon that troute,—fyne that cheven,—traffene that ele,—trance that sturgeon,—undertraunche that purpos,—tayme that crabbe,—barbe that lopster.—Here endeth the goodly termes of kervynge.”

In

* Thus also, even at common tables, the master was distinguished. In the History of John Newchombe, we find that when his mistress had married him (for he was journeyman to her former husband) she caused him to be set “in a chaire at the table’s end, with a fayre napkyn layde before him upon the table, lyke a master.”

Christmass
Carolls, by
Wynkyne
de Worde,
1521, 4to.
Vide Vol. 2,
of this work,
pag. 19.

In the former volumes we have spoken of the boar's head, as a dish highly esteemed by our ancestors: take the following extract from an old book intituled *Christmass Carolls*, printed in the year 1521.

A Caroll at the byngynge in the Bores heed.

Caput afri differo,
Reddens laudem domino.

The bores heed in hande bringe I,
With garlens gay & rosemary,†
I praye you all synge mezely.

Qui estis in convivio.

The bores heed, I understande,
Is the chefe serbyce in this lande,
Loke tohere eber it be fande.

Servite cum cantico.

Be gladde, lordes, both more & lasse,
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde,
To chere you all this Christmass,
The bores heed with mustarde, &c.

As Hall,
Stow, Hol-
linghead,
Grafton,
Speed,
and others.

Vide Hol-
ling. vol. 2,
pag. 1706.

Fox's
Acts & Mo-
numents,
in the Life of
Bradford.

Whoever has leisure sufficient, and is desirous of consulting the old chronicles of this kingdom, will find, by the many profuse and expensive banquets made in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, queen Elizabeth, and the succeeding reigns, that our great grandfathers lost no ground with their ancestors in bountiful house-keeping, which in the days of Elizabeth, as well as during the reign of her father, was as firmly adhered to as the most sound and important article of faith could be.—In those days, when coffee and tea, with various other like sops, were not known, it was no uncommon thing for the chief lords and ladies of the court to breakfast upon a fine beef steak broiled, with a cup of ale, and that at eight, or perhaps nine o'clock in the morning at farthest: they then usually dined at mid-day, or one o'clock; and such as eat suppers most commonly sat down to meat about seven, or a little before, in the evening. Indeed, in queen Mary's reign, the hour of supper at court seems to have been still earlier, for in Fox's Martyrs, Weston promises Bradford that he would go and say evening song before the queen, and speak to her in his (*Bradford's*) behalf: but (adds he) it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present, for it was past six of the clock.

The

† This custom of garnishing the dishes for the table with rosemary was very common in former times, especially at a wedding feast. Thus in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (by Beaumont and Fletcher) the rich Merchant, meaning to make a private dinner at his daughter's wedding, says, "We will have a capon in stewed broth, with marrow; and a good piece of beef stuck with rosemary."—Act. 4th.

The common methods of housekeeping, as usual with the great tradesmen, and the manner of their servants living, we may learn from the History, before quoted, of John Newchombe, the wealthy clothier of Newbury, wherein a gossip reproaching his wife of unthriftness, says, "You feed your folks with the best of beef and the finest of wheat, which is an oversight; neither do I hear of any knight in this country that doth it: and to say the truth, how were they able to bear that port which they do, if they saved it not by some means? Come thither, and I warrant you that you shall see brown bread upon the board; if it be of wheat and rye mingled together, it is a great matter, and bread most highly commended: but most commonly they eat barley bread, or rye mingled with pease or such-like coarse grain, which is doubtless of small price, and there is no other bread allowed except it be at their own board: and in like manner for their meat, it is well known that necks and points of beef is their ordinary fare; which, because it is commonly lean, they seeth therewith now and then a piece of bacon or poark, whereby they make their pottage fat, and there with drive out the rest with more content: and this you must do. And besides that, the midribs of oxen, and the cheeks, the sheeps heads, and the gathers, which you give away at your gate, might serve them well enough: this would be a great sparing to your meat, and by this means you would save much money in the year, whereby you might much better maintain your French hood and silk gown."—Thus we may see, that as soon as the passion for dress became general, by degrees the noted, the boasted hospitality, dwindled away; for so much was then laid out upon their apparel, that they were obliged to make many, and those great savings, elsewhere, to support that additional expence.

The History
of Jack of
Newbury.

Yet a specimen of the extravagances of the last century we meet with in the City Madam, wherein Holdfast exclaims against the profuse feasting in the city.

The City
Madam, by
Massenger.

"Men (*says he*) may talk of country Christmases, and court gluttony,
Their thirty pounds for butter'd eggs, their pies of carps tongues,
Their pheasants drench'd with ambergrise;* the carcasses
Of three fat weathers brused for gravy, to
Make sauce for a single peacock:—yet their feasts
Were fasts, compared with the cities."

One dish he in particular inveighs against, which may justly serve as an example to the rest.

"Three sucking pigs, serv'd up in a dish,
Took from the sow as soon as she had farrow'd,
A fortnight fed with dates, and muskadine,†
That stood my master in twenty marks apiece;
Besides the puddings in their bellies, made
Of I know not what," &c.

The

* Thus in *Albumazar*, an *old Comedy*, Albumazar asks for "some boxes of white confites, march-pane, and drye sucket, macaroons, and diet bread;" and to compleat the banquet, "some dozen ounces of *ambergrise*, as grey as can be got." By this it follows that colour was esteem'd the best.—And again, in the *Antiquary* (written by Shakerly Marmion, Esq; in the reign of Charles the First) Petrucio wishes the cooks (at a banquet) to have in the middle of the table "an artificial hen, made of puff paste, with her wings display'd, sitting upon eggs of the same materials, where in each of them shall be enclosed a fat nightingale, seasoned with peper and *ambergrease*."

† This was a sort of wine, or drink much esteem'd.—After, in the same play, *Luke* says to his company, "But that a tavern's near, you should taste *muskadine* at my house to wash down sorrow."

Parson's
Wedding,
by Killegrew

The captain in the play of the Parson's Wedding, being desired to chuse the dishes he prefers for the supper, in the evening says, "Provide me then chines fry'd and the salmon calver'd, a carp and black sauce, red deer in the blood, and an assembly of woodcocks and jack-snipes so fat, you would think they had their winding sheets on; and upon these as their pages, let me have wait your Suffex wheat ear, with a feather in his cap; over all which let our countryman, general chine of beef command: I hate your French pottage that looks as if the cook-maid had more hand in it than the cook.

Match at
Midnight,
by J. Rowley

But the widow's dinner in the Match at Midnight, is plain and homely enough;—"I am set (says she to some guest just entering)—but pardon our rudeness,—you see a Fridays fare for myself,—a dish of eggs and a rabbit;—I look'd for no strange faces."

No doubt there were then, nay always were and will be, some sober people to be found (however advanced an age may be in luxury and vice) who will not sacrifice their health and estates to the cravings of a brutal and depraved appetite; yet on the other hand, every age has been pestered with high pampered gluttons, who determine to gratify their unnatural and preposterous desires with the most profuse and expensive dainties.—Even in our own age, (amongst variety of other cruelties and detestable practises) we have heard of whipping young pigs to death to make them tender—and bleeding fowls till they die, by cutting them under the tongue, to make them white. But no more of this subject;—No, rather let the remembrance of such vices be buried in oblivion than set forth a lasting monument of national disgrace!—I shall only add, that the turtle and venison feasts, &c. of the present age, will most likely some time hence by our successors, be thought as extravagant as we can possibly conceive the banquets and superb feasts of our own ancestors to have been. For certain it is that high living is now more followed than it was in former times, and tho' at the tables of the ancients there was always great abundance, it was constantly much plainer food: for indeed, such a variety of made dishes and sauces so highly seasoned (which are the ruin of the constitution) were not known to them. It is strictly speaking in the quality more than in the quantity, that the great difference is now made between the banquets of the present age, and those of our ancestors.

This Poem
was printed
at London,
1609.

On Sundays and holidays, the youth of London of almost all degrees, the citizens also and their wives, used to repair to Pimlico, Hoxton, Islington, and Newington, &c. places then famous, for the fashionable resort thither to drink ale and eat cakes; a noted house also of like sort was at Tottenham-Court, as appears from an old play of that name: and such was the fame of Pimlico, that a bard in the beginning of the 17th century, wrote a poem, entitled "*Pimlico, or Runne Red Cap*," in which he has delineated several curious characters, and with some humour described the manners of the time: and in the old play, entitled "*Green's Tu quoque*" Sir Lionel the citizen declares, that he has sent his daughter in the morning as far as "Pimlico, to get a draught of Derby ale, that it might fetch a colour in her cheeks."

Ipocras, clarry, bracket, &c. as we have seen already (page 74 of this vol.) were drinks much esteemed in former times; besides which we read of muskadine; the which was greatly affected when brewed up with eggs. In the

the Picture, a comedy of Massenger's, the maid tells Honoria that the courtier "is drinking by himself to her ladyships health, in muskadine and eggs, (and adds she) the rather to draw the liquor down, he hath got a pye of marrow-bones, potatoes, and eringos." In the London Prodigal, mention is made of "a pottel of Rhenish wine, brew'd with rose water:" and in the play of Tottenham Court, I find mortified claret; add to these the sack and fugar, so much talked of, and so much commended by the gormondizing Falstaff.

The clergy themselves were not behind-hand with the laity, in frequenting such places as were noted for good liquor; for in the old humorous comedy of Gammer Gurton's Needle, the old gammer, wanting the aid of the Parson, calls Cock the boy and thus gives him his orders,

———— Come hither Cock anon,
Hence twithe to doctor Rat, hye the that thou were gone,
And pray him come speke with me, cham not well at ease,
Shall find him at his chamber, or els at mother Bees,
Els seek him at *Hobfilcher's* shop; for as charde it reported
Thers is the *best ale in the town, and now is most resorted.*

The boy goes forth to seek him as he is ordered; and when he returns, Gammer thus enquires;

Gammer—Where didst thou finde him boy? was he not wher I told thee?

Cock—Yes, yes, even at *Hobfilcher's* house, by him that bought and sold me:
A *cup of ale* had in his hand, and a *crab* * lay in the fier, &c.

Some few Notes relative to the prices of Provision.

In the reign of king Edward the third, it was enacted by proclamation, that no poulterer should sell one of the best swans, for more than 4s. and that he should sell the best *porcelle* † for 8d.—the best *ewe* for 6d.—the best capon for 6d.—the best hen for 4d.—the best pullet for 2d.½—the best *poucyn* for 2d.—the best *conynge* (*perhaps* coney) or a peel for 4d.—the best teal 2d.—the best river mallard 5d.—the best mallard of the fyns 3d.—the best snipe 1d.—four *allowes* 1d.—the best woodcock 3d.—the best partridge 5d.—the best plover 3d.—the best pheasant 1s. 4d.—the best *curbi* 10d.—13 of the best thrushes 6d.—12 eggs 1d.—12 small birds 1d.

Farther discovery of the prices of provision, as in the reign of Henry the 8th. I meet with in a MS. account of the preparations, made for the funeral of Sir John Rudstone, who had lately been mayor of London. He died A.D. 1531, and

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Q

* Or apple.

† Note here that the whole of this proclamation, in the original MS. is in old French; such names as I could not well understand, I have left in the same manner which I found them, and caused them to be printed in *italics* for distinction sake.

The Picture,
Comedy.

London
Prodigal.
Tottenham
Court.

1st & 2d
Parts of K.
Hen. 4. &c.

First printed
A. D. 1551.
See the Ori-
gin of the
Eng. Drama,
V. I, p. 208.

E. Libro MS
in Bib. Cott.
mark'd
Nero A. VI.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1231.

and the following are the bills of the provifions which were provided for the dinner, &c. at his burial :

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|----|-------|-----------------------------|----|------|
| Item. in prymys—for the fpyce brede | 7 | 5 | 60 egges | - | 0 7½ |
| 7lb. of fugar for the fame | - | 4 1 | 7 dyfhes of butter, at 4¼d. | } | 1 3¾ |
| 2 unces of faffron | - | 2 0 | the gallone | | |
| 2 unces of clovys and mace | - | 1 8 | Manchett brede | - | 1 0 |
| 7 unces of peper | - | 0 10½ | Foure hundred of peers | - | 2 4 |
| 2 gallons of milk | - | 0 3 | 1lb. of byfketts | - | 0 8 |

And here folowes the coftes done on the morowe for the dynner :

| To the Pyke-monger. | | | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|---|---|----|----|----|
| Item 16 pykes, at 1s. 4d. a pece | - | - | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 8 roundes of fturgeon | - | - | 1 | 2 | 0 |

| To the Pulter. | | | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|---|------|---|----|---------|
| Item 6 roundes of brawne | 0 | 11 8 | 22 capons | - | 0 12 10 |
| 10 fwannes, at 6s. a } pece - } | 3 | 0 0 | 9 doz. of pygeons, at 10d. } per dozen - } | 0 | 7 6 |
| 2 doz. of quayles | 0 | 10 0 | 4 geſe | - | 0 2 8 |
| 3 doz. of rabetts | 0 | 6 6 | 300 egges | - | 0 3 9 |

In another bill for what was provyded at the month's mind, is

A doz. of chekyns and 2 capons - 2s. 8d.

| To the Bowcher. | | | s. | d. |
|--------------------------|---|---|--------------|-----|
| Item—A furloyne of beffe | 2 | 4 | 4 Mary bones | 0 8 |
| Half a vele (calf) | 2 | 8 | | |

| To the Mylke Wyffe. | | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|-----------------------|-----|
| Item 2 gallones and 6 dyfhes } of butter - } | 4 | 2 | 8 gallones of creme | 4 0 |
| | | | 12 gallones of curdde | 1 6 |

| To the Brewer. | | | s. | d. |
|------------------------|----|---|-------------------------------|-----|
| Item 3 barrells of ale | 11 | 0 | For double bere to the tabull | 0 4 |
| A kylderkyne of bere | 1 | 0 | Yeft | 0 4 |

Also in another bill paid to the brewer, for what was had of him for the month's mind, is as follows :

One ftande of good ale, and 3 of three-halfpenny ale - 4s. 6d.

To

OF THE ENGLISH.

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To the Vyntener.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|-----|
| Item 32 gallones of redde and clarett wyne, at 10d. per gallon | - | 1 | 6 8 |
| 3 gallones of makerey | - | 0 | 0 4 |

In the vyntner's bill at the month's mind, is for

A rundlett of muskadell (*perhaps the same with muskadine*) - 6s.

The Grocer.

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|--------------------------|----|----|---------------------|----|----|
| Item. 6 unces of pepper | 0 | 9 | 6lb. of dates | 2 | 0 |
| 4 unces of clovys & mace | 2 | 4 | 1lb. of bysketts | 0 | 10 |
| 2 unces of saffrone | 1 | 10 | 12lb. of sugar | 7 | 0 |
| 18lb. of pruenes | 3 | 0 | 5 unces of cynimion | 1 | 3 |
| 8lb. of corans | 1 | 8 | 4 unces of gynger | 0 | 6 |

The Baker.

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|---------------------|----|----|
| Item. 4 busshelles of chete, at 1s. 10d. the busshelle | 7 | 4 | For fyne flower | 0 | 11 |
| For hot brede | 4 | 0 | For basterde flower | 1 | 10 |

The Chaundeler.

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------|----|----|--------------------------------------|----|----|
| Item. A peck and a half of salt | 0 | 6 | For packthrede and mustarde | 0 | 2 |
| For candells | 0 | 4 | For cappys (<i>perhaps capers</i>) | 0 | 2 |
| For venyger | 0 | 4 | For los of pottes | 0 | 8 |
| For vergeys | 0 | 6 | For hyer of pottes | 0 | 4 |

The Cooke.

| | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|
| Item. For hys labor and hys companye for 18 messes of meate | 15 | 0 |
| Item. For yerbys | 0 | 8 |
| Item. A quarter of a hundrede of fagottes | 1 | 2 |
| Item. For coles | 1 | 6 |
| Item. Paide the turners of broches and skulyans, foure of them | 1 | 4 |

Add to these the bill found in Falstaff's pocket, which runs as follows:— First Part of
 "Item a capon 2s. 2d.—Item sauce 4d.—Item sack two gallons 5s. 8d.—Item K. Hen. IV.
 anchovies and sack after supper 2s. 6d.—Item bread $\frac{1}{2}$ d."—But as these are sup-
 posed to be the tavern charges, we may reasonably conclude that they were very
 extravagant; as were also the following, selected from the comedy called
 Tottenham Court. The waiter gives the particulars as follows: "Cakes 2s. 0d.
 —ale as much—a quart of mortified claret 8d.—stew'd prunes 1s. 0d. (which
 prunes the waiter says cost 1d. per lb.)—and a quart of cream 1s. 0d." But he
 confesses that he had over-charged in his reckoning:

MS. in Bib. Harl. In a MS. in the Harleian Library, I find a fragment of the Household Book, which book did contain "the Orders of Prince Henryes Howse, as it was by him signed the 9th of Maye, an. 1610."

The Pryses of Fleshe, as the Prince Henrye payethe, as they are agreed for with the Purveyors.

"An ox should waye 600lb. the fowere quarteres, and commonly costethe 9l. 10s. or thereabouts;—a mutton shold waye 44lb. or 46lb. and they cost by the stone 2s. 3d. eache stone beyng 8 pound:—vealles (*calves*) go not by wayght, but by goodness only; their price is commonly 17s. or thereabouts:—lambes at 6s. 8d. the peece."

M U S I C.

Who pleythe on the harp, he should pley trew;
 Who syngythe a song, let hys voyce be tunable;
 Who wrestythe the clavycorde, mystunyg eschew;
 Who blowthe a trompet, let hys wynd be mesurabyle;
 For instruments in themself, be ferme and stable,
 And of trowthe, woulde trouthe to every man's song,
 Tune them then trewly, for in them is no wrong.

MS. in ibid. Bib. infig. 43. Thus says an old MS. book of instructions for music, as old as the reign of Henry the Fourth, preserved in the Harleian Library. And in another MS. namely the inventory of the palaces belonging to Henry the Eighth, I find the following instruments of music mentioned:

MS. in ibid. Bib. infig. 1419. First a pair of double *regalles*, with 2 stoppes of pipes, very richly ornamented.—
 (The *regall*, as Sir John Hawkins kindly informed me, is a small kind of *organ*; its figure may be seen in the Nuremberg Chronicle, fol. 10.)

Print. A.D. 1493. A pair of single *regals*, 3 stopys of pipes;—after followeth it hath but 2 stopes of pipes; the other 2 is but a *cimbal*.—This instrument here mentioned, "had one stoppe pipe of tin, one *regal* of tin, and a *cimbal*."

Vyrgynalles.—One single *vyrgynall*, and single *regall*, with a stoppe of timber pipes of woode:—a double *virgynall*, and a double *regall*, three stops of wooden pipes; (these instruments were join'd together, and besides these there were single *virgynalls* without the *regalls*):—a pair of *claricordes*;—*citterons*, or *Spanish vialles*;—*citteron* pipes of ivory, called *cornetts*;—*vialles*, great and small;—a *lute*, being in a case, with a *citteron*;—*flutes*;—*flutes*, called *pilgrims slaves*;—*crumborns* (I do not know but that these were of the same sort with those now called *French horns*);—*recorders*;—*base recorders*;—*recorders* of oaken bowes (the *recorder* was a sort of pipe not much unlike the *hautboy*; it was blown into, and stopp'd with the fingers);—a pipe for a *taberde*;—*shalmes* (a *shalme* was a sort of wind pipe);—a *bagpipe*;—a *flute* of glasse;—a short instrument called *dulcerisse* (the same perhaps with *dulcimer*).

The

The reader will not be much surprized at this great variety of instruments of music belonging to the above-mentioned prince, when he is inform'd from Hall, that he (Henry the 8th) was very fond of music, often amusing himself with "playing at the *recorders*, *flute*, *virginalls*, and in setting of songes, or making of balattes: he did (continues my author) set 2 goodly masses, every of them 5 partes, which were songe oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwards in divers other places.

Hall's Union
sub Vit.
Hen. 8.

Stow informs us, that in the fourth year of queen Elizabeth, "John Rose, dwelling in Bridewell, devised and made an instrument with wyer strings, commonly called the *bandora*, and left a son, far excellling himselfe in making *bandores*, *voyal de gamboes*, and other instruments." Michael Drayton, in the following verses, speaks of the various sorts of music, as used in England:

Stow's Chr.
fol. 869.

—Their height of skill might liveliest be exprest;
The trembling *lute* some touch, some strain the *viol* best
In set which there were seene, the music wondrous choice:
Some likewise there affect the *gamba* with the voice,
To shew that *England* could variety afford.
Some that delight to touch the sterner wyerie chord,
The *cythron*, the *bandora*, and the *theorbo* strike:
The *gittern* and the *kit* the wand'ring fiddlers like.
So were there some againe, in this their learned strife,
Loud instruments that lov'd; the *cornet* and the *phise*,
The *boboy*, *sagbut* deepe, *recorder*, and the *flute*;
Even from the shrillest *shawme* unto the *cornamute*.
Some blow the *bagpipe* up, that plaies the country round;
The *taber* and the *pipe* some take delight to found.

Poly-olbion
Song the 4th
fol. 63.

In the play of *Ferrex and Porrex*, each act is preceded by a dumb show, and before that was begun there was some particular music performed. before the first dumb show, "the music of violins began to play;" the second, "the music of cornets;" the third, "the music of flutes;" the fourth, "the music of hautboys;" and lastly, before the fifth show, "the drums and flutes began to found."

Vide Origin
of the
Eng. Drama
Vol. 2.

In the *Sad Shepherd* (by Johnson) mention is made of "the *bells*, the *pipes*, the *tabors*, and the *timburines*;" and in the same play Robin Hood says,

Sad Shep-
herd, by Ben
Johnson.

"The woodman met, the damsels and the swaines,
The neatherds, plowmen, and the *pipers* loud;
And each did dance, some to the *kit* or *crowd*,
Some to the *bagpipe*, some the *tabret* mov'd."

Concerning the horns, used by the huntsmen and game-keepers, I meet with the following account in a MS. entitled the *Master of the Game*, which was written for the use of king Henry the fifth, to whom it was presented.

MS. in the
Royal Lib.
infig. 18. C.
XVIII.

"There be (says the author) diverse manners of hornes; that is to say bugles, great abotes, hunts hornes, ruettes, small foster hornes, and many hornes.

horne of 2 manners;—the one manner is, those which are waxed with greene waxe, and be greater of sound; and because that they be best for good hunters, therefore I will devise how and of what fashion they shal be drive: First it should be drive of 2 spanne length, and not too muchles more (*i. e. not much more*) neither muchles lesse, and not too crookyng, neither too straight, but that the flew may be 3 or 4 fingers uppermore (*or higher*) than the head, or great end; and also that it be as great, and hollow driven as it may, to the lengthe; and that it be shorter at the side to the bawdericward, then at the nether side; and that the head be as wide as it may be, driven smaller and smaller to the flew; and that it be well waxed thicker, or thinner after, as the hunter thinketh it will best sowne; and that it be halfe the lengthe of the horne, from the flew to the binding; and also that it be not too small driven, from the binding to the flew; for if it be, the horne would be too meane of sounde.—As for the other maner, as hornes of feutres, and woodmen, I speak not of—for every small horne and other meane hornes unwaxed, both goode ynough for them.”

The minstrels* and musicians, used to stroll about the country, and at the fairs, feasts, weddings, &c. did play, and sometimes sing to their musick; relative to these musicians, and the state of ballad singing in the reign of Elizabeth, take the following extract from Puttenham's art of English poesy; Putten. Art of English Poesy, p. 69. “small and popular musicks, sung by these *cantabanqui*, upon benches and barrells heads, where they have none other audience than boys or country fellows, that passe by them in the stretes; or else by blind harpers, or such taverne minstrels, that give a fit† of mirth for a groat; their matter being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir Topas, the reportes of Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell and Clymne of the Clough, and such other old romances or historical rhymes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at the Christmas dinners and brideales, and in tavernes and ale-houses and such other places of base resort.” Thus in the old history of John Newchombe, the widow being with two of her gallants at a fair, entered a tavern, where “they had not sitten long (says the author) but in comes a noise of musicians in tawny coates, who (putting of their cappes) asked if they would have any musick.” With these we may put the *wais* or *wakes*, who are certain people that go through the streets at midnight, about Christmas time, and the beginning of the New Year, playing their music, and singing of carols, hymns, &c.

I

* See a large account of these minstrels in the first volume of Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.

† *Fit* is the part of a song or ballad, which is commonly divided into several, and the minstrel had a groat for every fit or part which he sung. Thus, in the Blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green, is the following verse:

Then give me leave, nobles and gentles, each one,
One song more to sing, and then I have done;
And if that it may not win good report,
Then do not give me a GROAT for my sport.

(See Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. 2, page 174.)

I find them mentioned in Johnson's *Silent Woman*, where they are called "*Waights*."—And again, in the prologue to the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the Citizen says to the actor of the prologue,

What stately music have you?

You have shawns.

Prologue. Shawns? No.

Citizen. Let's have the *waits* of Southwark!

They are rare fellows as any in England.

SPORTS and PASTIMES.

Master John Gyfford, and William Twety, that were with king Edward MS. in the the Second, composed a book on the Craft of Hunting, the which book is now Cotton Lib. preserv'd in the Cottonian Library: part of it is in verse, and part in prose. It mark'd Vespasianus, B. xii.

All suche dysport as voydeth ydilnesse
It fytteth every gentilman to knowe,
For myrth anexed is to gentilnesse;
Wherefore among alle other, as I trowe,
'To know the crafte of hunting, and to blowe,
As this booke shall witnesse, is ove the beste,
For it is holsium, pleasaunt, and honest:

And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way
To venery, I cast me fyrst to go;
Of wheche 4 bestes be, that is to say,
The *bare*, the *berte*, the *wulfbe*, the wild *boor* also.
And ther ben other bestis, five of the chafe,
The *buk* the first, the *do* the seconde,
The *fox* the thyrde, whiche oft hath hard grace;
The *fertbe*, the *martyn*, and the last the *roo*.

The *fertbe* and the *martyn* must be both one beast, otherwise there are six in number, and the first line of the verse limits them to five.—The *martyn* is, I fancy, the same with the animal now called *martin cat*.—The *roo* is sometimes called *roobuck*.

And thre other bestes beene of gret disport,—
The *grey* is one thereof, with his slepy pace;
The *cat* another; the *otre* one also.

The *grey* was the *badger*, and the *cat* here mentioned is the *pole-cat*.

To the above verses is subjoined three illuminations, exhibiting coloured delineations of all the beasts therein mentioned.—From thence the authors (having

(having thus opened their design in verse) proceed in prose to give the following account of the boar and the hart :

The *Boor*.—First he is a *pig*, as long as he is with his damme ; and when his damme levyeth hym, then he is called a *gorgeaunt* ; and the 3d yere he is called an *boggast* ; and when thay be 4 yere of age, they shall departe fro the found for age ; and when he goeth soole, than is he called a *boor*.

Now wyl we speke of the *Hert* ; and speke we of his degrees, that is to say, the fyrst yere he is a *calfe*, the secunde a *broket*, the thyrde yere a *spayer*, the fourthe yere a *stagg*, the fifthe yere a greet *stagg*, and the sixth yere a *bert*.

Then the authors set forth instructions to know the age of the *stag* by the shooting of his horns. That done, by the way of question and answer, they proceed to inform the hunter how he ought to blow his horn, at the different points of the hunt.

Of Blowyng.

Question.—Syr Hunter, for how many bestis shall a man blow the *mene* ?

Answer.—For thre males, and for one femalle ; that is to say, for an hert, the boor, the wolfh male, and also the wolfh female, as wel as to her husband.

Quest.—How shal ye blowe, whan ye have sen the hert ?

Answ.—I shal blowe after one *mote*, 2 *motes* ; and if myn houndes come not hastily to me as I wolde, I shall blow 4 *motes* ; and for to hast them to me, and for to warne the gentelys that the hert is sene, then shall I *rechase* on my houndes 3 times ; and whan he is ferre from me, then shal y *chase* hym in this manner,—*Trout, trout, tro-ro-rot, trout, trout, tro-ro-rot, trou-ro-rot, trou-ro-rot*.

Quest.—Syr Hunter, why blow you so ?

Answ.—For cause that the hert is seen, and y wot nene, whedir that myn hundis be become fro myn meyne.

Quest.—And what maner of *chase* clepe you that ?

Answ.—We clepe it the *chase* of the *forloyne*. I *chase* with my houndis that be huntynge another *chase*, that is clepid the *perfyxt* ; then ye shall begynne to blow a longe *mote*, and afterwarde 2 shorte *motes*, in this manner, *Trout, trout*, and then *trout, tro-ro-rot*, begynnyng with a long *mote* ; for every man that is a bowte yow, and can skille of venery, may knowe in what poynt ye be in yowre game, by yowre horne. Another chase ther is, whane a mane hath set up *archerys*, and *grey houndes*, and the beste be founde, and passe out the boundys, and myne houndes after : then shall I blowe on this maner, a *mote*, and afterward the *rechase* upon my houndys, that be passed the boundys ; which be the boundes that we assignyd.

Quest.—Sir Hunter, wole ye sech this chase ?

Answ.—Ya, sir. If it be a beste in strest, or in chase, and myn houndes pass out on the boundes, and if ye wyl not that they chase eny longer, I shall blowe a *mote*, and after ward I shall strake after myn houndes, for to have them a yen ; and when the *chevet* is take, ye shall seye *bowe harrowe*.

Then

Then followeth certain rules to be observed when the beasts so hunted should be taken by the hounds.—As first, of the *Hare*.

And whanne the *bare* is take, and your houndes have ronned well to hyr, ye shall blowe; and afterward ye shal give to your houndes the hallow, and that is the syde of the shuldres, the neck, and the hed; and the loyne shall to the kechone.

And whanne the *bert* is take, ye shal blowe 4 *motys*, and it shall be defected as of other bestes; and if your houndes be bold, and have slayn the *bert* with strength of huntynge, ye shall have the skynne; and he that undoeth hym, shall have the shuldre, by lawe of venery; and the houndes shall be rewardid with the nekke, and with the bowellis, with the fee, and they shall be etyn under the skynne; and therefore it is clepid the *guarre*: and the hed shal be brout homme to the lord of the skynne; the *wex*, the *gargilonne*, above the tayle forched on the right honde. Thanne blow at the dore of the halle the *pryse*.

Whanne the *buk* is i take, ye shal blowe *pryse*, and reward the houndes with the paunche and the bowellis.

Whan the *bore* is i take, he be deffetyd alvelve; and he shal have 32 hasceleytys, and ye shal gif your houndes the bowellis, boyled with bredd; and it is callyd *reward*, for cause that it is etyn on the earth, and not on the skynne. When he shall be carried home, the houndes shall be rewarded with the fete, and the body shall to the kechyne.

The sesounne of the *fox* begynnnyth at the Nativity of our Lady, and duryth til the Annunciacion; and the *bare* is alway in sesounne to be chafyd.

The names of the different hounds for hunting, I find mentioned in the book intituled "The Master of the Game," written for the use of king Henry the Fifth, by one who was master of the game to his father, Henry the Fourth.

MS. in the
Royal Lib.
infig. 18. C.
XVIII.

Of Raches, or Houndes.

First the *renning bounds*, the same with those to chase the hares, &c.—the *grey boundes*—the *alauntes*, or *bull dogs* (these were chiefly for hunting the boar).—The *spaniel* was a *bound* for hawking: "his craft (says my author) is for the perdrich, and the quayle; it is a goode hounde to a man that hath a good goishhawke, or tercel, or sparhawk, for the perdrich; and also when they be taught to be couchers, they beth goode for to take the perdrich and quaille in a nette.—The *mastiff* is also a good hounde for hunting of the wild boar.

Take from the same book

The Ordenaunce, and the Maner of Hunting, whan the Kynge would Hunte in the Forrest, or in Parke, for the Hert, with Bowes and Grey Houndes.

"The maister of the game should be accorded with the maister foster, or parker, wether that it be where the kynge shal hunte, such a day,—and if the sette be wide, the foresayde foster or parker should warn the sheriffe of the shyre

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that

that the huntynge shall be in, for to ordayne stable sufficient, and carts eke for to bring the deere that shoulde be slayne at the place, there as the quires of huntyngs han been accustomed.—And then he should warne the hunters, and the feutriers, whider they shoulde comen; and the foster should have men to meete with hym, that they goe not ferthur, nor straye aboute, for drede least they fraye the game er the kynge come, and if the hunting shall be in a parke, all men should abyde at the parke gayte;—saf the stables, that oweth to be set for the kynge ere he come, and they shul be set with the foresters, or parkers. And the morning early the maister of the game should be at the woode, to see that all be ready; and he or his lieutenent, or which of the hunters that him lust, oweth to sette the greyhounds;—and whosoe be treasurers to the kynge or to the queene, or to their leses, as oft as any hert cometh out, he should whan he is passed blowe a *moot* and *rechate*, and lat renne after two, and eise forth; and if it be a stagge, he should lat passe as is sayde and *relye*, for to make the feutriers avised what commeth oute, and to lesse deere shoulde noe wight be lat renne.--- And yet have I seyn not to the stagge, but if he were commaunded, and then the maister, forester, or parker, oweth for to show him the kynges stond, if the kynge wol stond with his bowe,---and where all the remnante of the bowes should stond, and the yeoman for the kynges bowe oweth to be there, to keepe and make the kynges stondyng, and abyde there wythoute noyse, till the kynge comme;---and the gromes that keepen the kynges dogges, and chastise the grey houndes, should be there wyth hym;---for they longen to the yeoman's office, and also the maister of the game, should be enformed by the forester or parker, what game the kynge shoulde fynde withyn his sette; and whan al this is y do, then shall the maister of the game worth upon horse, and meet the kynge, and brynge him to hys stondyng, and tell him what game is within the sette, and of the grey houndes, and eke the stable, and also to tell hym where he had better stande with hys bowe, or with hys greyhounds.— It is to wyte that the *least* of hys chamber, and of the queenes, should be best sett, and their fewtrers oweth to make fayre logges of greene boughs, at their *tristis*, to keepe the kynge and the queene, with the ladyes and gentelwommenne, and the greyhoundes, fro the sunne, and soule weder. And whane the kynge is at his stondyng, or at hys *trystre*, wether he be lever,---and that when the maister of the game, or hys lieutenent, have sette the bowes, and assigned who shall leade the queene to hyr *trystre*, then he shoulde blowe three long *mootes*, to the uncoupling: and the hert houndes, and the heirers, that byforn han be lad by some foresters or parkers theder, as they shall uncouple, and all the hunters that longeth to both mutes, abiding upon the maister of the game's blowynge, &c.—All such game as the kynge sleieth with hys bowe, or the queene, or my lord the prince, or other that they bidde with theyr own mouthe to let renne, of these the huntsmen or attendants can not claim any part; but of all others there are certain parts assign'd to them, by the maister of the game, as to the baily, the forester, the parker, &c. in their degrees."

Next to hunting, hawking (in the proper seasons) was esteemed amongst our ancestors.

In

In the Harleian Library is an old French treatise concerning the keeping of hawks, The author says in the beginning,

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 976.

Mult volenters sol vous dizas,
Ke en escrit trobe enat,
Si cum jo lis e so lesgard,
El libere al bon rei Edward.
Kar ja dis esseient Englieste,
Munt enseigner e inter curteis.

Which verses import, that he (the author) intended to set forth to the reader what he had seen in the book (on the subject of hawking) written for or by king Edward of England.

Mr. Wanley (who made the former part of the Harleian Catalogue) supposes that the author of this old poetic treatise might have written *Edward* for *Ælfred*, as the latter (adds he) did write a book *de accipitribus*, which is now lost. But I rather believe that the French author made no mistake; for another MS. on the same subject, likewise preserved in the Harleian Library, has this writing at the end—"Here endith the boke of haukyng, after prince Edward kyng of England." But what king Edward this was, I am not able to determine.—The former MS. is as old as the time of Edward the First, and the latter was written about the latter end of the 14th century. From the first it seems probable that the treatise here mentioned was either made by the Confessor, or some one of the Saxon Edwards that were before him. In the latter MS. is contained the full directions how to manage the hawk, with a long account of the various diseases to which they be subject, and the medicines to be administered for their relief and cure: in the beginning I find

MS. in
Ibid. Lib.
mark. 2340.

The Termys of Hawkyng.

In the begynnyng of termes of hawkyng, who so woll him lere, he shall fynde six that ben of use:—the first is *holde fast*, when he a *battith*;—the secunde is, *rebate* your hawke to your fiste;—the thirde is, *fede* your hawke, and seye not *geve her mete*;—the fourthe is, that an hauke *sayth* his beke, and not *swypith*—the fifth, *caste* your hauke to the perche, and seye not *ley*;—the sixthe is, that your hauke *joketh*, and not *sleepith*."

Then followeth instructions how to govern your hawk, &c.

"And if your hawke schall fle to pertriches, ye mooste make him to know a pertriche; and when he knowith a pertriche, go to felde where is covey, and lete the spaynell flush up the covey; and if that she *abate*, lete her fle; but beware that you constreyne her not to flee: and if she neme (*take*) one, rewarde her apon her foule:—but when you come first to the covey, goo afore them some what, and lete the patriche that ye have in your bagge (provided for that purpose) fle be a creaunce, so that the hauke nym the pertryche fleyng; then cast the hauke to, and he will nym her withoute doute;—then go fyndde more of the covey, and he woll take ynough of them without any doubt:—then

rewarde your hawke in this maner, take a knyf and strike of the pertriche hedde, and the nek, and strike away the skyn fro the neck, while the hawk plumyth on the pertriche, and then hold the nek and hedde to gyder to her, and then sche woll leve the fowle, and come to the fust to the mete; then gyve her to reward the brayn, and the eyen (*eyes*) and the flesch aboute the neck; and lete her not fle afterwarde, till she have sewyd her beke, or rowfed:—then is your hawk made as touchyng pertriches,” &c.

The hawk being a bird of a very delicate constitution, it was extremely difficult to rear and keep them in health, as also to teach them the several exercises that it was necessary for them to learn, before they were fit for the sporter's amusement.—Let the reader judge of the trouble necessary, from the following single instance:

Alia Tract,
in ibid. MS.

To drawe a hawke on the fist, and to rewle (*rule*) her in all poyntes.

“At nyth (*night*) go to the mew, and take her fayr and hesely, ryth (*just*) as sche fyttis on her perche, and put on hyr jessis and belles; and loke that the nether jesse be an ynch longer than the farther, for batyng; and than set her on your fist, and bere her all that *nyght*, and keepe her from batyng.”

Strict command is given, in all the MS. instructions to the hawkers, that they should have the “*jesses*” and “*belles*” made of the proper size, and proportioned to the strength of the hawk.

MS in the
Harl. Lib.
2340.

In the inventory of the goods at Hampton Court, I find (amongst vast variety of other things) mention of houndes collarres, with turrets and studdes of silver, some gilt,—and hawke gloves, together with hawke hoods embroidered. The hood was put over the eyes of the hawk till she was brought into the field, and when the game was started, then were her eyes uncovered, and the game was shewn to her, which she instantly, with much celerity, pursued.

Hall's Union
an. 16, H.8.
fol. 139. B.

The vast love that king Henry the Eighth had for this amusement had like to have proved fatal to him; for (says Hall) on a time as “the kynge following his hawke (*on foot*) he attempted to leap over a ditch, beside *Hychyn*, with a pole, and the pole brake; so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not leapt into the water, and lift up his hede, which was fast in the clay, he had beene drowned: but God of his goodnes preserved him.”

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2340.

From the above quoted MS. take the several sorts of hawks allow'd the different degrees of people.

Three hawkys longyn to an emperour; that is to say, an *egkyl*, a *watour*, a *millon*, neither lured nor redaymyd for hem.

Ther ben hawkes of tower; that is to sey, a *gerefaucone*, and a tarsenlet of the same for a kynge.

A *faucon rentyll*,* a tarfelett thereof for a prince.

A

* In an old printed edition of this work, it is *gentyll*.

A *fausone* of the *rocke*, a tarselet therof for a duke.
 A *facon peregryne*, a tarselet therof for a lorde.*
 There is a *Bastarde*, and that hawke is for a baron.†
 A *sakyr*, and a *sakyret*, for a knyght.
 A *layner*, and a *laynerett*, for a squyer.
 A lefe of *marlyons*, for a lady.
 A *hoby*, or a *caselett* of the same, for a gentil man of the first hede.
 A *gose hawke*, for a yoman.
 A *ter sell*, for a pore man.
 A *sparaw hawke*, for a prest.
 A *muskett*, for a haly watyr clarke.
 A *resterell*, for a knave.

An abij hawke is *canvas mayle*; a lovyng hawke, an harde, that may indure myche sorowe, and commynly they be the hardyest.

By the 13th chapter of the Forest Law, made by Henry the Third, it was enacted that "every freman should have within his owne woodes, ayres of *hawkes*; *sparrow hawkes*, *fawcons*, *eglys* and *herons*."—In the 34th year of Edward the Third, it was also enacted, that "every person which fyndeth *fawcon*, *tercelet*, *laner*, or *lanneret*, or other *fawcon* that is loste of their lord, that mayntenaunt he bring the same to the sheriffe of the county; and that the sheriffe make proclamation in al the good townes in the county, that he hath suche an hawke in his custody: and if the lord, which lost the same, or any of hys meny, cometh to challenge him, and proveth reasonable that the same is his lordes, let him pay for the costes, and have the fawcon: and if none come within 4 monthes to challenge him, that than the sheriffe have the fawcon, makynge gree to him that dyd take him, if he be a symple man, and if he be a gentylman and of estate to have the fawcon, that then the sheriffe redelyver to him the fawcon, taking of him resonable costes for the time that he had him in his custody. And if any man take such fawcon, and the same conceyle from the lorde whose it was, or from his fawconers, or whosoever taketh him from the lord, and therof be atteinted, shal have imprisonment of 2 yeres, and yelde to the lorde the price of the fawcon so cocceiled and caried away, if he have whereof, and if he have not he shall the longer abide in prison."—And in the 37th year of the same king, the following addition was made to the foregoing act: "Notwithstandinge this ordynaunce, the offenders doubte but lyttel to offende in this behalfe, wherfore it is ordeyned, and by statute stablyshed in this present parlyament, that if any stele any hawke, and the same cary away, not doynge the ordynaunce aforesayd, it shall be done of hym as of a thefe that steleth a horse, or any other thyng."

In the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh it was ordained by the parliament, "that no maner of person, of what condytion or degre he be, take or cause to be taken, be it upon his owne grounde or any other mannes, the egges of any *fawcon*,

Carta de
Foresta,
cap. 13.

Vide
Berthelet's
Stat. vol. 1.
fol. 53. A.

Ibid.
pag. 60. B.

Ibid.
11 Hen. 7.
cap. 17.

* For an earl.—*Ibid.*

† This line also is entirely added from the printed edition.

fawcon, goshawkes, laners, or swannes, out of the neste, upon peyne of impry-
sonment of a yere and a daye, and fine at the kynges wyll, the one halfe
thereof to the kyng, and the other halfe to the owner of the grounde wher the
egges were so taken, and that the justyces of the peace have auctorytye by this
present acte, to hear and determyne suche matter."—Also it was then ordained,
"that no man, from the feast of Pasche nexte ensuinge, shoulde beare any
hauke of the breede of Englande, called an *nyesse goshake, tasselle, laner, laneret,*
or *fawcon*, upon peyne of forfeiture of *such* his hawke to the kyng;" but to
have hawkes comeing from abroad.

These, with various other alterations, were afterwards confirmed.

Now pass we on, and to the account of tournaments (given page 91 of the
second volume of this work) add the following:

From a
MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 1776.

Ordinances, and Statute Rules, made and inacted by John Tiptoft Earl of
Worster, and Constable of England, by the Kynges Comandement at
Windfor, the 6th Year of Kynge Edward the Fourthe:

First, Whosoe breaketh most speares as they oughte to be broken, shall have
the prise.

Secondly, Whosoe hitt 3 times in the fight of the healme, shall have the prise:

Thirdly, Whosoe meeteth twice the coronell, to coronell, shall have the prise.

Fourthly, Whosoe beareth a man down, with the stroke of a speare, shall have
the prise.

Here foloweth wherefore the Prises shall be losse.

First, Whosoe striketh a horse, shall not have the prise.

Secondly, Whosoe striketh a mannes backe, turned or disarmed of his speare,
shall have no prise.

Thirdly, Who hitteth the toyle, or tilte 3 times, shall have no prise.

Fourthly Whosoe unhelmes himselfe 2 times, shall have no prise, without his
his horse faile him.

How Speares broken be disallowed.

First, Who breaketh a speare on the saddle, shall be disallowed for a speare
broken.

Secondly, Who hitts the tilt or toile once, shall be disallowed for 2 speares
broken.

Thirdly, Whosoe hitts the tilt twyce, shal be for the two times abated, for 3
speares broken.

Fourthly, Whosoe breaketh a speare within a foot of the crownall, shall be
judged as no speare broken, but a good attaynte.

The Prises to be given.

First, Whosoe beareth a man downe from the saddle, or putteth hym to the
erth horse and man, shall have the pryse before hym that striketh coronal to
coronal 2 times.

Secondly,

Secondly, He that striketh coronal to coronal 2 tymes, shall have the pryse before hym that striketh the fight three times.

Thirdly, He that striketh the fight 3 times, shall have the pryse before hym that breaketh moſte ſpeares.

Fourthly, If there be any gentleman in this wiſe, that fortaneth to be longeſt in the feilde, healmed, and ran the faireſt courſes, and gave the greateſt ſtrokes, and helped him beſt with his ſpeare, ſhall have the priſe.

(Subſcribed)

John Woſter.

Theſe tournaments continued in all their glory during the reign of Henry the Eighth, who himſelf greatly delighted in them, and often made one amongst the reſt of his lords and favourites. One time in particular he had liked to have loſt his life; for being on horſeback within the tilt, and his vizor up, when the trumpets ſounded to the charge, he, forgetting to ſhut and claſp his vizor down, rode full ſpeed to meet the opponant (who was Brandon duke of Suffolke). The ſurrounding people, ſeeing his danger, cried out aloud, but it was too late: Brandon (who knew not the cauſe) puſh'd on, aiming his lance, as he thought, at the ſight of the king's helm; but fortunately he paſſed ſomewhat aſide his aim, for the lance enter'd the helm by the ſide of his face, and the braces giving way, the helm was forced off, and the king received no further harm than a ſlight hurt by the ſudden riſing of the helmet.—Theſe warlike ſhows were generally ſucceeded in the evening by a ſuperb banquet and maſque, with dancing and other polite amuſements.

Hall's Union
in Vita
Hen. 8.

The reader may not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed with the following ſpecimen of the taſte of thoſe times, in ſuch princely entertainments, and, for the curioſity thereof, may be inclined to excuſe the length of the quotation. It is ſelected from a vaſt variety of theſe grand ſhows (which did abound throughout the whole of Henry's reign) recorded by Hall, in his Union of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and was, both tilt and banquet, holden in the ſecond year of Henry the Eighth, in honour of the queen, and as a token of joy for her ſafe recovery from her late lying-in.

Ibid.
fol. 8. &
infra.

“ The morow beyng the xiiii daye of February after dynner, at tyme convenient, the quene with the ladyes repaired to ſee the juſtes. The trompettes blew up, and in came many a nobleman and gentelman, rychly appareiled, takynge up their horſes: after whom followed certayne lordes appareiled, they and their horſes, in clothe of golde and ruſſet tynſell; knightes in clothe of golde and ruſſet velvet; and a greate number of gentelmen on fote in ruſſet ſatyn and yealow, and yomen in ruſſet damaske and yealow: all the nether parte of every man's hoſen ſkarlet, and yealow cappes. Then came the kynge under a pavilion of clothe of golde and purpul velvet enbroudered, and poudered with H and K of fyne golde, the compaſs of the pavilion above enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat golde, beten in wyre, with an imperiall croune in the top of fyne golde, hys baſes and trapper of clothe of gold fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the tail; a crane and chafron of ſtele; in the frount of the chafron was a goodly plume ſet full of muſers or tremblyng ſpangles

spangles of golde. After followed his three aydes, every of them under a pavilion of crimson damaske and purple, poudred with H. and K. of fine golde, valanced and frynged with golde of damaske: on the top of every pavilion a great K. of golde smythes worke. The number of gentlemen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yealow, was c.lxviii. Then next these pavilions came xii chyldren of honor, sitting every of them on a greate courser richely trapped and embroudered in several devises and facions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldesmythes worke, so that every childe and horse in device and facion was contrarye to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the counter part entered Sir Charles Brandon fyrst on horse-backe, in a long robe of russet satyn, like a recluse or a religious person, and hys horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsy, puttinge a byll of petition to the queene, the effecte whereof was, that if it would please her to licence hym to runne in her presence, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that hys request was graunted, then he put of hys sayde habyte, and was armed at all peeces, with ryche bases, and horse also richely trapped, and so did run hys horse to the tylte ende, where divers men on fote, appareiled in russet satyn, awaited on hym. Next after came in alone young Henry-Guyllford, esquier, hym selfe and hys horse in russet cloth of golde, and clothe of silver, closed in a device, or a pageant made lyke a castel or a turret, wrought of russet sarcenet Florence, wrought, and set out in golde with hys worde or poyse, and al his men in russet sattyn and white, with hosen of the same, and their bonettes of like colours, demanding also licence of the quene to runne, whiche to him graunted, he toke place at thende of the tylte. Than came next the marques Dorset and Syr Thomas Bulleyn, like two pilgrims from Saint James, in taberdes of blacke velvet, with Palmers hattes on their hellmettes, with long Jacob's staves in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke velvet, their tabardes, hattes and trappers set with scolloppe schelles of fyne golde, and stripes of blacke velvet, every stripe set with a scalope shell; their servauntes all in blacke satyn, with scalop shelles of gold in their breastes. Sone after came in the lord Henry of Buckyngham erle of Wylshire, hymself and his horse appareiled in cloth of silver, embroudered with a poyse, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a poyse, called *La maison du refuge*, made of crimson damaske, broudered with roses and arrowes of golde; on the top a greyhonde of silver bearinge a tree of pomegarnettes of golde, the braunches thereof were so large that it oversprede the pagent in all partes. Then entred Syr Gyles Capell, Syr Roulande, with many other knightes, richely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the justes, whiche was valiauntly acheved by the kyng and his aydes, emonges whome hys grace atteyned the price. These justes fynished, every man withdrew; the kynge was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the quene heard even song, and that night all the ambassadours supped with the kyng and had a great banket. After supper, hys grace, with the quene, lordes and ladyes, came into the white hall, within the sayde palls, whiche was hanged richely; the hall was scaffolded and rayled on all partes: there was an interlude of the gentlemen of hys chapell before his grace, and divers freshe songes. That done, hys grace called to hym a great man or a lord of Ireland, called *Odovell*, whom in the presence of the sayde ambassadours he

he made knight: then the mynstrells beganne to playe, and the lordes and ladyes beganne to daunce.

“And in the midst of this pastyme, when all persones were moste attentyve to beholde the dauncyng, the kyng was sodenly gone, unknowen to the moste parte of the people there, onles it were of the quene and of certayne other. Within a littel while after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the hall began to blow. Then there was a device or a pageaunt upon wheles brought in, out of which pageaunt issued forth a gentelman rychelye appareiled, that shewed, how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbour of golde, wherein were lordes and ladyes, moche desirous to shew pleasure and pastyme to the quene and ladyes, if they might be licenced so to do, who was aunswered by the quene, how she and all other there were very desyrus to se theim and their pastyme. Then a great cloth of arras that dyd hang before the same pageaunt was taken awaye, and the pageaunt brought more nere: it was curiously made and pleasaunt to beholde; it was solempne and ryche, for every post or pillar therof was covered with frise golde; therein were trees of hathorne, eglantynes, rosiars, vynes, and other pleasaunt floures of divers colours, with gillofers and other herbes, all made of satyn, damaske, silk, silver and golde, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In which arber were 6 ladyes, all appareiled in white satyn and grene, set and enbroudered full of H and K of golde, knytte together with laces of golde of damaske, and all their garmentes were replenyshed with glyttering spangles gilt over; on their heddes were bonettes all opened at the 4 quarters, overfrysed with flat gold of damaske; the orrellettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, so that the golde shewed thorow the lampas douck; the fassis of their head set ful of new devised facions. In this garden also was the kyng and 5 with him, appareiled in garmentes of purple satyn, all of cuttes with H and K; every edge garnished with frysed gold, and every garment ful of poysees, made of letters of fyne gold in bullion, as thick as they might be, and every persone had his name in like letters of mass gold; the fyrst *cuer loyall*, the second *bone valure*, in the 3 *bone espoir*, the 4th *valyaunt desyre*, the fyft *bone foy*, the vi *amoure loyall*; their hosen, cappes, and cotes, were full of poysees, and H. and K. of fyne gold in bullion, so that the grounde could scarce apere, and yet was in every voyde place spangels of gold. When time was come, the sayd pageaunt was brought forth into presence, and then discended a lord and a lady by coples, and then the mynstrells, which were disguised, also daunced, and the lordes and ladyes daunced, that it was a pleasure to beholde.

“In the meane season the pageaunt was conveyed to the ende of the place, there to tary till the daunces were finished, and so to have receyved the lordes and ladyes againe: but sodanly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagent, so that the lord steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde have foughten and drawen bloude, and soo was this pagent broken.

“After the kyng and hys companions had daunced, he appoynted the ladyes, gentel women, and the ambassadours, to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, which thyng the common people perceyving, ranne to the kyng, and stripped hym into hys hosen and dubler, and all hys companions in likewise.

likewise. Syr Thomas Knevet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost hys apparell. The ladyes likewyse were spoyled, wherefore the kynges garde came sodenly, and putte the people backe, or els, as it was suppoed, more inconvenience had ensued. So the king, with the quene and the ladyes, returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that all that was taken away was but for honor and larges: and so this triumphe ended with myrthe and gladnes.

“ At this banquet, a shipman of London caught certayn letters, which he sould to a goldsmyth for 3*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* by reason wherof it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.”

The THEATRE.

In the second volume of this work, I have already given a short account of the English Theatre; I shall now resume the thread of that discourse, and endeavour to set forth the gradual improvements of the stage.

In the early dawn of literature, and when the sacred mysteries were the only theatrical performances, what is now called the stage did then consist of three several platforms, or stages raised one above another; on the uppermost sat the *pater cælestis*, surrounded with his angels; on the second appeared the holy saints and glorified men; and the last and lowest was occupied by mere men, who had not yet passed from this transitory life to the regions of eternity. On one side of this lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark pitchy cavern, from whence issued appearance of fire and flames; and when it was necessary, the audience were treated with hideous yellings and noises, as imitative of the howlings and cries of the wretched souls tormented by the relentless dæmons. From this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended, to delight and to instruct the spectators; to delight, because they were usually the greatest jesters and buffoons that then appeared; and to instruct, for that they treated the wretched mortals who were delivered to them with the utmost cruelty, warning thereby all men carefully to avoid the falling into the clutches of such hardened and remorseless spirits.—But in the more improved state of the theatre, and when regular plays were introduced, all this mummary was abolished, and the whole cavern and devils, together with the highest platform before mentioned, entirely taken away, two platforms only then remaining; and these continued a considerable time in use, the upper stage serving them for chambers, or any elevated situations (as when some of the actors should, from the walls of cities or the like, discourse with those who were standing under them on the lower platform). This appears from several entries to be found in the old editions of the first plays, where mention is often made of the *upper and lower stages*.

But, before I proceed in my discourse, I beg leave to present to my readers some few specimens of the ancient mysteries (which will not come in here impertinently)

impertinently) as I have but just now explain'd the manner of setting up of the stage for the performance of them.—The most ancient that I have met with (in its original state) is a fragment* in the Harleian Library; there is no date to it, but the hand-writing of the MS. is at least as early as the reign of Edward the First. The subject is our blessed Saviour's descent into Hell. The interlocutors are, Christ, Sathan, Janitor, Adam, Eva, Habraham, David, Johan Baptist, and Moyse. The story itself is fore-run by a prologue, which setteth forth the argument; it begins thus:

P R O L O G U E

Alle herkneth to me nou,
A strif wolle y tellen ou,
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan;
Tho Jhesu wes (*was*) to Helle y gan, (*gone*) †
For to vacche (*fetch*) thenne (*thence*) his,
Ant bringen them to Paradys:
The Devel hevede so muche pouste, (*power*)
That alle mosten to Helle te;
Nas not so holy prophete
Seththe (*since*) Adam and Eve the appel ete,
And he were at this worldes syne,
That he ne moste to Helle pyne,
Ne shulde he never thenne come
Nere Jhesu Christ, Goddes sonne.

Then the prologue recites the prophecies concerning Christ, and thus concludes:

He (*Christ*) was bore for oure nede,
In this worlde, in pore wede;
I' this worlde he was dede,
For to lesen (*free*) us from the qued, (*evil*)
For Jhesu hevede (*having*) shed ys blod,
For our neode upon the rod,
In Godhed, toke he then way
That to Helle gatis lay;
The he com there, tho (*too*) saide he,
Alle (*as*) you nouthe (*now*) shal see.

S 2

The

* I call it a fragment, not but that the story, or pagent, of "our Saviour's Descent into Hell," (which is the subject) is compleat from the beginning to the end,—but because I fancy it was only a part of a larger performance, or an assemblage of pagentes, in the nature of those which follow this ancient specimen.

† Note, the words that are difficult to understand, I have explained, and set in Italics, following the difficult words so explained.

The prologue ended, Christ advances and speaks, rehearsing what he had suffered for the redemption of mankind, and declares his intention of coming to the gates of Hell was to set free all those that believed on him. He ends his speech thus:

Adam, thou has duere (*dear*) a boht (*bought*)
That thou levedest (*loved*) me noht, (*not*)
Y shal the bringe of (*from*) Helle pyne,
Ant with the, alle of myne.

Then the Devil starts up from his gloomy regions, and speaks.

Sathan ait. Who ys that, ych here (*bear*) thore?
Ich hym rede (*council*) speke na more;
For he may so muche do,
That he shal us come to,
Forte buen oure fere (*divers*)
Ant founden hon we pleyen here.

Dominus ait, Thou might wyten (*know*) in thy lay,
That mine woll y have away;
Wost (*knowst*) thou never (*not*) whet yc ham? (*I am*)
Almost ys thritti wynter gan,
That thou hast founded me,
For to knowe wet y be;
Sinne found thou never non
In me, as in other mon,
Ant thou shalt wyte wel to day,
That mine wolle y have away;
When thou bilevest, al thyn one,
Thenne myghte thou grede and grone.

Sathan. Par masey ich holde myne,
Alle tho (*those*) that bueth thereyne (*or are within, i. e. in Hell.*)

Then followeth various speeches, in which Sathan endeavours to prove, that man, having sinned, is become subject to him; and Christ, on the other hand, shews that what he has done to redeem lost man is sufficient for his salvation, and moreover adds, that all power is by God given to him, to overcome the powers of darkness. Sathan then ceases to speak, and Christ addresses himself to the janitor, or gate-keeper, concluding thus his speech:

Helle gates y come nou to,
And I wole that heo (*they*) undo;
Wher ys nou this gate ward?
Me thuncheth (*methinks*) he is a coward.

Janitor

Janitor ait, Ich have herd wordes stronge,
Ne dare here no langore (*longer*) stonde
Kepe the gates whoſo may,
Y let them stonde, ant ranne (*run*) away.

Dominus ait, Hell gate wolle y falle,
Ant out taken myne alle:
Sathanas y bynde, ther shalt thou lay
O that (*until*) comes domes day.

Adam ait, Welcome Louerd (*Lord*) God of londe,
Godes ſone, ant Godes ſonde; (*appointed or ordain'd*)
Welcome Louerd mot (*may*) thou be,
That thou wolt us come and ſe:
Louerd nou thou art come to ous,
Bring ous out this lothe (*loathed*) houſe;
Bring us out this lothe lond,
Louerd henne (*hence*) into thy hond:
Louerd woſt thou whet ycham?
Thou me ſhupteſt (*shapeſt*) of eorthe (*earth*) Adam;
For y thyn hert (*command*) heveld (*beld*) noht, (*not*)
Duere ich halbe (*have*) hit her (*it here*) aboht (*bought*).

In like manner Eve, Abraham, David, &c. offer up their petition to their Redeemer, who assures them that he is come to deliver them from that dreadful dungeon, and carry them with him to Heaven;—it ends thus:

Louerd for thi muchele (*great*) grace,
Graunte us in Heovene one place;
Let us never be forloren, (*forsaken*)
For now ſinne Criſt ycoren (*hath overcome*):
Ah bring us out of Helle pyne, (*pain*)
Louerd ous and alle thynne;
And gef us grace to libbe (*live*) and ende
In thy ſerince (*faith*) ant to Heovene wende (*go*),

There is indeed in the Harleian Library two MS. copies of a very ancient MSS. in the mystery, or rather an assemblage of mysteries, called the Plays of Chester; the Harl. Lib. oldest of the two is dated 1600, and before the prologue is this entry made: one mark'd 2013, the other 2124.

“ The Proclamations for *Whitſone Playes*, made by *Wm. Newal*, Clarke of the Pendice, ann. 24 Henry the Eighth.

“ For as much as of ould tyme, not only for the augmentation and increas MS. of the holy and catholick faith, of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and to exort the mark. 2013. mindes of comon people to good devotion, and holsome doctrine thereof; but also

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also for the comon welth, and prosperitie of this city: a *play*, and declaration of divers storyes of the Bible, beginning with the creation, and fall of Lucifer, and ending with the generall judgment of the world, to be declared, and played, in the Whitson weeke, was devised and made by one Sir Henry Frances, somtyme moonck of this monastery dissolved: who obtayning and gat of Clemant, then busshop of Rome, a 1000 dayes of perdon; and of the busshop of Chester, at that tyme, 40 deyes perdon; graunted from thenceforth to every person, resorting in peceable maner, with good devocion, to heare, and see, the sayd *playes*, from tyme to tyme, as oft as they shall be pleyed, within the sayd citty: and every persone, or persones, disturbing the sayd *playes*, in any maner of wise, to be accursed by the authority of the sayde pope Clement's bulls (untyll suche tyme as he or they be absolved thereof): which *playes* were devised to the honor of God, by John Arnway, then maior of this citty of Chester, his bretheren, and whole cominalty thereof, to be brought forth, declared, and played, at the costes and charges of the craftsmen, and occupations of the sayd citty; which hither unto haive from tyme to tyme used, and performed the same, accordingly. — Wherefore the maior, in the kinges name, stratly chargeth, and comandeth, that every person, and persones, of what estate, degre or condicion soever they be, resorting to the sayd *playes*, do use themselves peaceblie, without making any assault, affray, or other disturbance, wherby the same *playes* shall be disturbed; and that no maner of persone, or persones, whosoever he or they be, do use or weare any unlawfull weapons, within the precinct of the sayd citty, during the tyme of the sayd *playes*, not only upon payne of cursing by authority of the sayd pope Clemant's bulls, but also upon peyne of imprisonment of their bodyes, and making fine to the kynge at the maior's pleasure."

Underneath this proclamation the third Randal Holme hath written " Sir John Arnway maior, 1327 and 1328; at which tyme these *playes* were written by one *Randall Higgenett*, a monk of Chester Abby, and played openly in the Whitson weeke:"

Then followeth "the *banes*," (or the short arguments of the pagents, by way of prologue) "which are reade beefore the begininge of the *Playes of Chester*." The first stanza runs thus:

Reverende lordes, and ladyes alle,
That at this tyme here assembled be,
By this messauge understonde you shall
That some tymes there was mayor of this citie,
Sir John Arnway, knight, who most worthilye
Contented hymself to sett out in playe,
The devise of one *Donne Rondall*, monk of Chester Abby.

Then,

Then, after some few stanzas more, the prologue explains and assigns the parts which each company should take upon them to have performed; the first is the tanners.—

Nowe you worshippfull tanners, that of custome olde,
The fall of Lucifer did sette out:
Some writers a warrante, your matter therfor be shoulde
Craftelye to playe the same, to all the rowtte;
And yf any therof stande in any doubte,
Your authour his auther hath: your shewe let bee
Good speech, fyne players, with apparrill comelye.

In the same manner the prologue runs through the rest of the pagents.—2. To the drapers was assigned "*the creation of the worlde, Adam and Eve.*"—3. To the water leaders, and drawers of the river Dee, "*the storye of Noe.*" [Here it is remarkable that the author has made Noah's wife as perverse as Job's, and she sticks not to swear by *Christ*; and by *St. John*, &c.]—4. To the barbers and wax-chandlers, "*the offerynge of Melchisedecke, of breede and wyne.*"—5. To the cuppers and linen-drapers, "*the storye of Balaam and his asse, and of Balacke the kinge.*"—6. To the wrights and slaters, "*the beirth of Christe.*"—7. To the painters and glaziers, "*the angel appearing to the shepherds.*"—8. To the merchant vintners, "*the setting forth of the wise men in search of Christ.*"—9. To the mercers, "*the offeringe of the wise men.*"—10. To the goldsmiths, "*the murder of the innocents.*"—11. To the blacksmiths, to show "*howe Christe amonge the docters in the Temple did dispute.*"—12. To the butchers, "*the storie of Sathan that Christe woulde needes tempte.*"—13. To the glovers was assigned the "*death of Lazarus, and his riseing againe.*"—14. The curvisors were to show "*howe that to Jerusalem our Saviour tooke the waye.*"—15. The bakers, "*howe Christe our Savyour, at bys last supper, gave his body and his bloude for redemption of us al.*"—16. To the fletchers, bowyers, coopers, stringers, and ironmongers, was given the setting forth "*of Christe's doleful death, his scourginge, his whippinge, his bloude shedd, and passion.*"—17. The cooks were to show "*how Christe descended into Helle, and what he did in that place.*"—18. The skimmers should set forth "*the storye of the resurrectione.*"*—19. The sadlers and furterers performed "*the appearances of Christe, his travayle to Emaus.*"—20. The taylors were charged to see that they "*the storye of the assention formablye dide frame.*"—
21. And

* In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used (at Wytney in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly, in maner of a shew or interlude, the Resurrection of our Lord, &c. for the which Purposes, and the more lively heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priests garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the part of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two flyckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*.—Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary, written somewhere about the year 1570, Edit. 1739, fol. 459.

21. And the fishmongers were to show "*the peagant of the Holy Ghoſte.*"—
 22. And the ſherman ſhould "*ſhewe forth howe Anticriſt ſhoulde riſe.*"—And
 then, 23, "*you diers and hewſters Antecriſt bringe out.*"—And 24, laſtly, the
 wavers ſhould cauſe to be performed "*the cominge of Chriſte, to geve eternall
 judgement.*"

As a ſpecimen of the piece, take the following ſhort quotation from the firſt
 pageant:—

Godde alone ſpeakes.

Ego ſum alpha et omega, primus et noviffimus.
 It was my will it ſhoulde be ſoe,
 Hit is,—hit was,—it ſhal be thus;
 I am greate God gracious,
 Which never had begynninge;
 The holy foode of parentes
 Is ſett in my licentia;
 I am the tryall of the Trenitye,
 Which never ſhal be twynninge;
 Pearleſſ patron ymperiall,
 And patris ſapientia.

From this ſhort ſpecimen, it is plain that not only the orthography, but the
 language itſelf, has been much moderniſed; for which reaſon I rather choſe to
 omit any longer quotations from the preſent, and give a more enlarged view of
 the following curious myſtery, which ſtill remains in its antiquated ſtate: it is
 preſerved in a MS. volume, written on vellum, in the Cotton Library; it is
 ſtill more copious than the foregoing, containing no leſs than forty ſeveral
 pagents, or ſhows, the arguments of which, becauſe they are much in the ſame
 ſtile with thoſe of the former (beginning with the Creation, and ending with the
 General Judgment, including the moſt popular ſtories of Scripture) I omit.—
 This Play, by the hand-writing, ſeems to be at leaſt as early as the middle of
 the 14th century. Prefix'd to the Play is this note, in a more modern hand,
 probably written by Dr. Smith, who made the catalogue of the Cottonian MSS.
 or elſe by Sir Robert Cotton himſelf:—"Contenta novi teſtamenti ſcenice
 expreſſa, et actitata olim per monachos ſive fratres mendicantes vulgo dicitur hic
 liber *Ludus Coventriæ* ſive *Ludus corporis Chriſti* ſcribitur metris Anglicanis."—
 On what authority this note is inſerted, I know not; but we find that the

Coventry

MS. in the
 Cotton Lib.
 mark'd
 Veſpaſianus,
 D. 8.

* "I myſelf (ſays the author quoted in the former note) being then a childe, once ſaw in Poule's
 church at London, at a feaſt of Whiſſuntyde, wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Goſt was
 ſet forth by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that ys to be ſene in the mydſt of the
 rooſe of the great ile, and by a cenſer, which deſcendinge out of the ſame place almoſt to the verie
 ground, was ſwinged up and downe at ſuche a lengthe, that it reached with thone ſwepe almoſt to
 the weſt-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre ſtaires of the ſame, breathinge out
 over the whole church and companie a moſt pleaſant perfume, of ſuch ſwete thinges as burned
 therein. With the like doome ſhewes alſo how they uſed everie where to furniſh ſondrye parts of
 their church ſervice, as by their ſpectacles of the nativitie, paſſion and aſcenſion, &c."—Lambarde,
 ut ſupra.

Coventry play, of *Corpus Christi*, was anciently a very popular performance:— it is mentioned in the *Four Pee's*, an old interlude, where the Pardoner says,

This Devil and I were of old acquaintaunce,
For oft in the play of *Corpus Christi*,
He hath play'd the Devil at *Coventrie*.

The prologue, or argument, is spoken by three persons (called *vexillators*) who speak after each other alternately:—it is ended thus:

3d *Vexill*. Now have we told yow, all be dene,
The hool matter that we thynke to playe;
Whan that ye come hit shal ye fene,
This game wel pley'd in good aray;
Of holy wrytte this game shall bene,
And of no fablys be no way:—
Now God them save from trey, and tene,
For us that prayth upon that day,
And I wyte them wel y mede,
Munday next, yf that we may,
At vi of the belle, we gynne our play,
In N. town, wherfor we pray,
That God now be your spede.

Take also the whole of the first pageant, transcrib'd in its ancient form;

God speaketh.

Ego sum alpha et omega, principium et finis.

My name is knowyn, God and Kynge;
My work to make now wyl I wende;
In myself restyth my reynenge, (*reigning*)
It hath no gynnyng, ne non ende;
And all that evyr shall have beyng,
Is closyd in my mende; (*mind*)
When it is made at my lykyng,
I may it save, I may it shende, (*destroy*)

After my plesawns:

So gret of myth (*might*) is my pouste, (*power*)
Al thynges shal be wrowth (*wrought*) by me;
I am one God in personys thre,
Knyt in one substawnce:
I am the trewe Trenyte,
Here walkyng in this wone;
Thre personys in myself I see,
Lokyn in me God alone.

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I am the fadyr of powfte,
 My son with me gynnyth gon,
 My goft (*ghost*) is grace, in majeste
 Weldeth welthe up in Hevyn tron; (*throne*)
 One God thre I calle:—
 I am fadyr of myth,—my sone kepyth ryth,
 My goft hath lyth (*light*)—and grace with alle.
 My self begynnyng nevyr dyd take,
 And endelefs I am, throow myn own myth;
 Now wole I begynne my werke to make;
 Fyrst I make Hevyn, with sterrys (*stars*) of lyth,
 In myrth and joy, evermore to wake;
 In Hevyn I bylde angelles full bryth, (*bright*)
 My servantes to be, and for my sake
 Wyth merth and melody worchep my myth,
 I holde them in my blyffe:
 Angelles in Hevyn evyrmor shal be,
 In lyth ful clere, brith as ble,
 With myrthe and song to worchep me,
 Of joys yei (*they*) may not mys.

Here the angels enter upon the upper stage, and surround the throne of God, singing "To thee all angels cry aloud:—the Heavens and all the powers therein:—to the cherubin and seraphin; continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Saboth."—This finished, the Devil speaks:

Lucifer. To whos worchipe synge ye this songe,
 To worchip God, or reverence me?
 But (*unless*) ye worchip me, ye do me wronge,
 For I am the wurthyest that ever may be.

The good Angels. We worchip God, of myth most stronge,
 Whiche hath formyd both us and thee;
 We may (*can*) nevyr worchip hym to longe,
 For he is most worthy of mageste:
 On knees to God we fall,
 Oure Lorde God worchip we,
 And in no wyse honowr we the;
 A gretter Lord may nevyr non bee,
 Than he that made us alle.

Lucifer. A wurthyer Lorde forsothe am I,
 And wurthyer than he evyr wyl, I be;
 In evydens that I am mor wurthy,
 I wyl go sytten in Goddys se (*seat or throne*).

Above

Above sunne, and mone, and starrs on sky,
 I am now set, as ye may se;
 Now wurchip me for most myhty,
 And for your Lorde, honowr now me,
 Syttyng in my sete.

Evil Angels. Goddys myht we forsake,
 For mor wurthy we the take,
 The to wurchep, honowr we make,
 And falles down at thy fete.

God speaketh. Thu Lucyfer, for thy mykyl (*great*) pryde,
 I bydde the falle from Hefene (*Heaven*) to Helle,
 And all tho that holdyn on yowr side,
 In my blyffe nevyr mor to dwelle:
 At my comawndement anoon (*quickly*) down then flyde,
 With merth and joye nevyr mor to mell;
 In mychief and manas evyr that thou abyde
 In byttyr brennyng, and fyer so felle,
 In peyn evyr to be pyght (*put*).

Lucifer. At thy byddyng y wyl I werke,
 And pas fro joy to peyne and smerte;
 Now I am a devyl ful derke,
 That was an angel bryht.
 Now to Helle the wey I take,
 In endless peyn y to be pyht;
 For fere of fyr (*fire*) afart (*afraid*) I quake,
 In Helle donjoon (*dungeon*) my dene is dyth.

[*The Devil and his angels sink into the cavern.*]

From hence the play goes on, and the next which follows is the pageant of the Creation of the World, &c. In this manner these mysteries, or miracle plays were constantly conducted, and as many of the pageants play'd each day as the time would permit.—From Chaucer, we find them the usual resort of the idle gossips in Lent.

Prologue to
 the Wife of
 Bath's Tale,
 in Chaucer.

Therefore made I my visitations
 To vigilles, & to processions,
 To preachings eke, & to pilgrimages,
 To playes of miracles, & to marriages.

This is (says Mr. Warton) the genial *wife of Bath*, who amuses herself with those fashionable diversions, while her "husbond was at Loudon all that Lent."—And in *Pierce Plowman's Crede*, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar minorite mentions these *miracles*, or mysteries, as not less frequented than markets and taverns.

The History
 of English
 Poetry,
 V. 1, p. 236.

We haunten no tabernes ne hobelen abouten,
 At markets & miracles we medeley us neber.

Pier. Plow-
 man's Crede.

What succeeded these mysteries we have already seen in the former volume; I shall therefore go on with the discourse, and speak still further of the stage itself.

Before the Restoration, the stage decorations and ornaments were very few, and even those extremely plain and homely. "They had" (says a certain author) "no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old tapestry, and the stage strewed with rushes, with habits accordingly."—And the nature of the stage contrivances, at that early period, may be seen plate 20, fig. 12, which is copied from an ancient wood cut prefix'd to a very early edition of Terence's Comedies, in old French. Here we see four several curtains in the front, instead of a scene; each curtain is divided by a column, and these spaces served the actors to make their entries and exits, drawing the curtains aside to let them pass. By the names over the top, it should appear that the partitions are intended as design'd to represent the doors, or portals, of the houses belonging to such characters and their families, as might, by the nature of the play, require separate houses; and the name of the person was wrote over his respective mansion, from which it is most likely he constantly came out, and to which he also retired, as the occasions of the play might require (unless he were to enter into another's house, when some plot or turn in the piece should make it necessary for him to do so) and this might be to prevent confusion and mistakes, as well amongst the actors themselves, as with the spectators.—The sides, which in the original cut are not filled up, were doubtless composed by the walls of the theatre, over which they hung their tapestry ornaments, as mentioned above; for it appears very plainly, that no passages were made on the sides of the stage, nor indeed were they needed, till the introduction of the flat front scene, and then the side entrances took place; so by degrees, as the players were more encouraged, the houses were more ornamented, and the scenes with the decorations augmented, which have at last, through a long succession of years, arrived to the splendour and magnificence we now see in the theatres of the present age. The same may be said of the elegant dresses and vast improvements made in them, together with their great variety.

The actors themselves, even after the abolishing of the mysteries, made but slow improvement, till the reign of queen Elizabeth; for says Stow (writing in her reign) "comedians and stage players of former time were very poore and ignorant, in respect of these of this time; but being now growne very skilfull and exquisite actors for all matters, they were entertained into service of divers great lordes, out of which companies there were twelve of the best chosen, and at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham they were sworne the queenes servants, and were allowed wages, and livories, as groomes of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583 the queene had no players: amongst these twelve players were two rare men, viz. *Thomas Wilson*, for a quicke, delicate, refined extemporall wit, and *Richard Tarleton*, for a wondrous, plentiful, pleasant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his time."—This is said of their first rising, they soon made themselves noted, so that an ancient author complains of the pride of the lower class of players, or, as he calls them, *players men*, in these words, "Over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault, that the very hyerlings of some of our players, which stand at revirion of 6s. by the week, jet under gentlemen's

Discourse
subjoined to
Fleeknoe's
Love's king-
dom, 1674.

Old Edit. in
French of
Terence,
with Wood
Cuts.

Stow's Chr.
fol. 698.

Schoole of
Abuse, 1579
fol. 23.

gentlemens noses in futes of filke, exercising themselves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abroad, where they look askance over the shoulder at every man, of whom the *Sunday* before they begged an almes. I say not this as though everie one that professeth the qualitie so abused himselfe, for it is well knownen that some of them are sober, discrete, properly learned, honest housholders and citizens, well thought on among their neighbours at home, though the pryde of their shadowes (I meane those hangbyes whom they succour with stipends) cause them to be somewhat ill talked of abroad."

All female characters were formerly acted by men, no women ever appearing publicly upon the stage before the Restoration. We must indeed except the performers at the court masques and the like, where the chief ladies of the realm made no scruple of acting such parts as suited their fancies.—Sir William Davenant, after the above-mentioned period, abolished the plain front curtains before mentioned, and caused painted scenes to be set in their stead; and also, by the way of compleating the theatrical improvements, brought women upon the stage, to play their respective characters.

Prynne's
Mast. p. 215

But one reason why the ornaments of the stage were so plain and so few, was the lowness of the prices of admission into the theatres. In the prologue to the *Woman Hater*, mention is made of the *two-penny gallery*. The play-house called the Hope had five several priced seats, from 6d. to half a crown; and nearly the same may be inferred from the following passage,—“How many are there, who, according to their several qualities, spend 2d. 3d. 4d. 6d. 12d. 18d. 2s. and sometimes 4s. or 5s. at a play-house, day by day, if coach-hire, boat-hire, tobacco, wine, beere, and such-like vaine expences, which playes doe usually occasion, be cast into the reckoning?”—The price of the pit was constantly one shilling.

Woman
Hater, by
Beaumont &
Fletcher.
Bartholow-
mew Fair.

Prynne's
Histriomast.
fol. 322.
Mad Lover,
Sea Captain,
&c.

It was also common for the audience to sit at the play, and drink wine and beer, as well as smoke tobacco; and this fashion was continued even till the latter end of the reign of Charles the First. But these unseemly customs were afterwards dropped at the theatre, though now they are (smoking tobacco excepted) resumed and continued at Sadler's Wells.

In former times, while the mysteries were the only stage performances, they were often, and indeed most usually, performed in the churches, and on the sabbath day; and this fashion, as 'tis thought, continued even when prophane stories had taken place of the religious ones. However, the playing in churches was, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, restrained by a proclamation issued forth by Bonner, bishop of London, to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels, &c. But the acting plays on the sabbath day continued even till the reign of Charles the First, and they were then performed by the choristers, or singing boys, of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, or of the Royal Chapel.* The usual time of acting was early in the

Warton's
History of
Eng. Poetry
Vol. 1.

Reliques
of Ancient
Poetry,
Vol. 1.

* I find the following in a hand-bill preserved amongst the collections of title pages in the Harleian Library:—"If Mr. Brady had employed his ingenuity in petitioning the king and parliament

Biogr. Brit. the afternoon. In the reign of Charles the First they generally began at three,
I. 117. n. d. so that the whole of the play might be performed by day-light; but this was
not anciently so, for in the prologue to the old mystery, *Ludus Coventriae*,
before mentioned, we find it thus:

Vid. p. 137.

Munday next, yf that we may,
At vi of the belle, we gynne our play.

Vol. 2, p. 94.

Warton's
History of
Eng. Poetry,
V. 1, p. 236.

The mummings and masques are mentioned in the former volume; but with these species of entertainments we may (perhaps justly) rank the *ludi*, which are so frequently mentioned as performed for the diversion of the king and his nobles at court.—“I find (says Mr. Warton in his valuable History of English Poetry) “in the wardrobe rolls of Edward the Third, in the year 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum ludos domini regis, ad festum natalis Domini, celebratos apud Guldeford*—for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford, at the feast of Christmas.—In these *ludi*, says my record were expended 80 tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes, that is, 14 of the faces of women, 14 of the faces of men with beards, 14 of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests,† 14 mantles embroidered with heads of dragons, 14 white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, 14 with heads of swans with wings, 14 tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, 14 tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver.

In the wardrobe of Richard the Second, in the year 1391, there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport much of the same nature—“*Pro xxi coifs de tela linea, pro hominibus de lege contrafactis, pro ludo regis tempore natalis anno xii.*—for linen coifs, for counterfeiting men of the law, in the king's play at Christmas.”

Ibid. Hist.
of Poetry,
V. 1, p. 239.
Leland, col-
lec. 3. apend.
pag. 256.

The same author gives us “A memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the palace at Westminster.” It is quoted from Leland.—“This Christmas (says that ancient author) 1489, I saw no disguyfings, and but right few plays; but there was an abbot of Mistrule that made much sport, and did right well his office.”—And again, “At night the kynge, the queene, and my ladye the kynges moder, came into the White Hall, and ther hard a play.”

The *play* here last mentioned, together with the *ludi* before spoken of, were nothing more than dialogues and short moral interludes, performed by the maskers and disguised courtiers, but seem not to bear any resemblance to the old mysteries,

ment for pulling down the cursed plays, and the hackney coaches tradeing on the Lord's holy days he had done God and this nation very good service; we should have had very great cause to applaud and to have given him thanks for so great and so good a work; but for his bringing in new devised psalms, to amuse and make a confusion in our churches, we shall pray to God to confound such his devices, and wish we had never known such a man as Mr. Brady.”—Volume in the Harl. Lib. mark'd 5937.

† I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place, viz. “14 crestes cum tibis reversatis et calceatis, 14 crestes cum montibus et cuniculis.”

mysteries, the moralities, and other pieces, which were on a far more extensive plan.—And that these dialogues were the fashionable diversions at court, during the reign of Henry the Eighth, let Hall bear witness:

An. 13 of Henry the Eighth, to pleasure the emperor, the king gave a great entertainment at Windfor; and “on Sondag (the 16th of June) at night, in the greate halle was a disguisying or play. The effect of it was, that there was a proud horse which woulde not be tamed nor bridled, but Amitie sent Prudence and Police which tamed him, and force and puissance bridled him. This horse was ment by the Frenche kyng, and Amitie by the king of Englund, and the emperor and the other persones were their counsail and power. After this play ended was a sumptuous maske of 12 men and 12 women.”—Again, An. 19, “Tow persones play’d a dialogue before the kyng, the effect whereof was wether riches were better than love, and when they could not agree, each called thre knightes, who fought a fair battle of the barriars, and left the place; then come in an old man, with a silver beard, and he concluded that love and riches both be necessary for a prince; that is to saie, by love to be obeied and served, and riches to reward his lovers and friends: and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.”

Hall's Union
in Vitæ
Hen. 8.
fol. 99.

Ibid.
fol. 156, B.

Indeed this kind of dialogues, interludes, or masques, did still continue, even after the introduction of the regular plays, and were generally composed by the chief poets, and played by the courtiers themselves; of which sort Johnson in particular wrote several, as well for the diversion of the king and the queen, as for the entertainment of the nobility at their marriages, or some particular occasions.—Plate XI. of this volume, represents one of these last-mentioned masques, made at the marriage of Sir Henry Unton [see a full account of the picture, in the description of this plate at the end of this volume]. Here we see the maskers march in order round the table, where the musicians are seated; going up the flight of steps to the left, come up into the chamber, where the company are sitting as at dinner: * the chief masker is Diana, who is preceded by Mercury; before him stand two Cupids, the one black, the other white, and a messenger is bearing a paper (that might perhaps contain the intention of the mask) which he presents to one of the chief personages at the feast. Diana is followed alternately by two of her nymphs, and two Cupids, each of them bearing a torch, the one in white, and the other disguised as a black: each of the nymphs, who walk two and two, bear in one hand a bow, and in the other a wreath or garland, —which garlands were most likely to be distributed amongst the surrounding guests.

By way of conclusion, I shall just observe that Hall is accused of an error, where he affirms that king Henry the Eighth first devised, and caused to be performed in England, an entertainment called a “maske.” His words are these:—“On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with xi other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a *maske*, a thing not seene afore

Hall's Union
An. 3 H. 8.

in

* In the original, the maskers at the top are passing by a large table, where the guests are placed; but that, as well for want of room on the plate, as that it did not immediately concern the present matter, was omitted.

Hall's Union
in Vit. H. 8.
pag. 7. a.

in Englande; thei were appareled in garmentes long, and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers, and cappes of gold."—But shall this be said to prove that no species of this sort of entertainment before existed in England? or shall we fancy that Hall should have so grossly mistaken the matter as plainly here to contradict what he has positively affirmed a few pages before, namely, the disguisings with masks, &c.; for in the first year of Henry the Eighth's reign (says the same author) after a great banquet, "came a certayne number of gentelman, wherof the king was one, apparayled all in one swete of shorte garmentes, litle beneth the poyntes, of blewe velvet and crymsyne, with long sleeves, all cut and lyned with clothe of gold; and the utter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, and shewes of arrowes of fine doket gold; the upper partes of their hosen of like sewte and facion, the nether partes were of scarlet, powdred with tymbrelles of fyne golde; on their heades bonets of damaske, silver, flatte, woven in the stole, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fethers in them,—all in visers."—Hence it is plain that the former mentioned Italian entertainment could not have been so particular and strange on account of the vizers (or masks, as they are now called) since we find they were used long before; nor can we suppose that Hall could have been guilty of so glaring an oversight. The most likely story is, that the Italian *maske* differed from the former mentioned disguisings in some of the material parts, as the dances, and conduct thereof; as also then the new name of *masque* might be tack'd to the entertainment, all which may be thought to authorize the assertion of that faithful historian. But be it as it may, most of our more modern authors have carelessly blunder'd over this passage of Hall, and stick not very gravely to inform us, that the use of vizors, maskings, and the like, did then, and not till then, take their beginning:—yet not to go farther, one of the statutes enacted by Henry the Seventh must stare them in the face; he, in the first year of his reign, made it felony for any person "to hunt by night, with painted faces, or vizors."

Stat. An. 1
H. 7. cap. 7

The mysteries, that were of old times so famous, seem even in the later times to have furnished at least the ground-work for another very noted stage performance; I mean that celebrated diversion entitled a puppet-show. Take the following bill, which was printed in the reign of queen Anne:

From the
Collect. of
Title Pages
in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 5931.

By her Majesties permission,

At Heatly's booth, over against the *Cross Daggers*, next to Mr. Miller's booth—during the time of *Bartholomew fair*, will be presented a little opera, called *The old Creacion of the World* new revived, with the addition of the glorious battle obtained over the *French* and *Spaniards* by his grace the duke of *Marlborough*.

The contents are these,

1. The creation of *Adam* and *Eve*.
2. The intreagues of *Lucifer* in the garden of *Eden*.
3. *Adam* and *Eve* driven out of *Paradise*.
4. *Cain* going to plow; *Abel* driving sheep.
5. *Cain* killeth his brother *Abel*.
6. *Abraham* offereth up his son *Isaac*.
7. Three wise men of the *East*, guided by a star, come and worship *Christ*.
8. *Joseph* and *Mary* flee away by night, upon an ass.
9. King *Herod's*

Herod's cruelty; his mens spears laden with children. 10. *Rich Dives* invites his friends, and orders his *porter* to keep the beggars from his gate. 11. Poor *Lazarus* comes a begging at rich *Dives* gate, the dogs lick his sores. 12. The good Angel and Death contend for *Lazarus's* life. 13. *Rich Dives* is taken sick, and dieth; he is buried in great solemnity. 14. *Rich Dives* in Hell, and *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosom, seen in a most glorious object, all in machines descending in a throne, guarded with multitudes of angels; with the breaking of the clouds, discovering the palace of the sun, in double and treble prospects, to the admiration of all the spectators.—Likewise several rich and large figures, which dances *jiggs, sarabands, anticks* and *country dances*, between every act; compleated with the merry humours of *Sir Jno. Spendall* and *Punchanello*, with several other things never yet exposed.

Performed by Mat. Heatly. — VIVAT REGINA.

Here was a noble dish of variety—a motley mixture with a witness! A long series of Scripture histories, the fabulous palace of the Sun, and the humours of *Punchanello*, all—all set forth, and but for the entertainment of one evening! Oh what a fertile fancy!

But to go on. Mr. Penkethman's pantheon was a much more simple exhibition: take also his bill.

Penkethman's Pantheon,

Consisting of several curious pictures and moving figures, representing the fabulous History of the Heathen Gods.

The whole contains 14 several entertainments, and near 100 figures (besides ships, beasts, fish fowl, and other embellishments) some near a foot in height; all which have their respective and peculiar motions, their very heads, legs, arms, hands and fingers artificially moving exactly to what they perform, and setting one foot before another, as they go, like living creatures, in such manner that nothing but nature itself can exceed it: in short, the painting is by the finest hands, and the story and contrivance so admirable, that it justly deserves to be esteemed one of the greatest wonders of the age.—It continues to be shewn every day, from nine in the morning to nine at night, in the Great Room at the *Duke of Marlborough's Head*, in *Fleet-street*; price 2s. 6d.—1s.—and the lowest 6d.—[See more of this man's performance, with the accounts of the opera, &c. in the Spectators.]

Other SPORTS.

The ancient customs of our ancestors are now, in this polite age, but little regarded or attended to; for in the present time, it is not genteel to sit down to dinner until three, four, five, or six o'clock; the time from thence to tea is spent by the gentlemen over the bottle, and by the ladies in conversation on dress, and the like: after tea, the cards are brought, and dear quadrille beguiles the tedious hours, till supper summons causes them to rise; they sup, they drink,

drink, and then—why then to bed; and so life passes on!—In former times they usually dined at twelve or one o'clock, and

When they had dined, as I you saye,
Lordes & ladies yede to play,
Some to tablis, & some to chesse,
With othir gamys more & lesse.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.

mark. 2252.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.

mark'd

Caligula,

A. 2.

Thus says an old poem intituled "King Arthur;" and in another, called "Sir Launfal," as ancient, or perhaps more so than the former, I find the court thus amusing themselves after their dinner:

She tok with her a companye
The fayrest that sche myghte a spee,—syrty ladies & fif;
And went them downe anon ryghtes,
Tham to pley among the knyghtes,—well styll with outen styf.
The quene yede to the fornesse ende,
Betwene Launfal & Gawwain the hende,—& after her ladies bygt:
To daunce they wente, all yn same,
To se them playe, hyt was fayr game,—a lady & a knygt:—
They had menstrelles of moche honouris,
Fydels, cytolys, & trompoters,—& elles it were unrygt;
Ther they playde, for sothe to saye,
After mete, the Somers dawe,—all what hyt was neyr nygt.

MS. in the

Harl. Lib.

mark'd 116.

Diceing was a game well known by our ancestors, and so much practised by them, that Lidgate, in his *Diatory*, a short poem, advises all men to be aware

Of drunken folke, lyers, & lecheres,
And all them that usith suche unchrysty bysses,
And all dyse players and hafardours.

MS. in

Ibid. Lib.

mark'd 321.

And in another old poem, still perhaps of more ancient date than the foregoing, I find this caution,—

Play With a toppre,—the dise lok thou eschewe.

Hall's Union

in Vitæ

Hen. 8.

These were the fashionable diversions in the reign of Henry the Eighth.—The kynge (says Hall, speaking of that prince) aboute thys season, was muche given to play at tenice, and at the *dice*, which appetite certayne craftie persons aboute hym perceyving, brought in Frenchmen, and Lombards, to make wagers with him, and so hee lost inuche money; but when hee perceyved theyr crafte, hee eschued their company, and let them goe."

The same prince (in his younger days especially) delighted in martial exercises, as also shooting, finging, dancing, wrestling, and casting of the bar.—The shooting here mentioned was shooting with bows and arrows at butts: thus in an

an old ballad, written in praise of the princess Elizabeth, wife to Henry the Seventh, that prince is described as employed in a princely amusement,

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 367.

“ See where he *shooteth* at the *buttes*,—and with him lordes three.”

In the comedy of the City Madam, we find also that such diversions were much affected by the city gallants. “ You (says lord Lacy to Luke) were then gallant;—no meeting at the horse-race, cocking, hunting, *shooting*, or bowling, but you were there,” &c.—In Charles the Second's reign, this late fashionable amusement began to decline, for Jolly, speaking in contempt of the country pleasures, says, “ What are they call'd? walking, or hawking, or *shooting at the butts*? And this is not wonderful, for on the introduction of muskets, the former archery by degrees grew out of fashion; and indeed, even in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the ancient shooting with the long bow began to be laid aside, and people in general used to shoot with hand guns and cross bows. This custom so much prevailed, that a proclamation was by the king and parliament put forth, strictly forbidding the use of them, and obliging every man, “ beinge the kinges subjecte, not lame, decrepite, nor maymed, nor havng any other lawful or reasonable cause or impediment, being within the age of 60 yeres (except spiri- tuel men, justices of the one bench or of the other, justices of assize, and barons of the Exchequer, &c.) to use and exercise shotynge in longe bowes; and also to have a bowe and arrowes redey continually in his house, and that he do use himself in shotynge: also fathers, and guardians, to teach their male children early to shoot with the long bow, and to have bows continually provided for them: also masters should find bows for their apprentices.” So that all men were compelled to learn to shoot in the holidays, and at other convenient times.—At the same time great complaint was made to the parliament, by the bowyers, fletchers, springers, and arrow-head makers, that numbers of unlawful games, as bowling, diceing, flyde thrift, and shove groat, were practised in the fields, to their great hurt, and the prejudice of the young people; therefore by this act all such games were strictly forbid.

Statute 33
Hen. 8.
cap. 16.
Ibid. An. 3.
cap. 3.

Now we are here speaking of the amusements of young people, it may not be amiss to add the following poem, made by the second Randall Holme, of Chester:

Auntient Customs in Games used by Boys, and Girles,
merily sett out in Verse:

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2057.

Any they dare challenge for to throw the sledge,
To jumpe, or leape ovir ditch, or hedge;
To wrastle, play at stoole ball, or to runne,
To pich the barre, or to shoote of a gunne;
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trye it out at foote-ball, by the shinnes
At tick tacke, seize nody, maw and ruffe,
At hot cokles, leape frogge, or blind-man's buffe:

To drink the halper pottes, or deale at the whole cann;
 To play at cheffe, or pue, and inke horne;
 To daunce the moris, play at barley brake,
 At al exploits a man can think or speak:
 At shove groate, venter poynte, or crofs and pile;
 At beshrew him that's last at any stile;
 At leapinge over a Christmas bonfire,
 Or at the drawynge dame out of the myer;
 At shoote cocke, Gregory, stoole ball, and what not;
 Picke poynt, toppe and scourge to make him hott.

See Doddsley
 Col. of Old
 Plays, V.1. In the old morality intituled New Custom, first printed an. 1573, Perverse
 Doctrine, in a deriding speech, mentions the following games:

Give them that which is meete for them, a racket and a ball;
 Or some other trifle, to busy their heads withall;
 Playinge at coytes or nine hooles, or shooting at buttes,—&c.

Statute An.
 11. Hen. 7.
 Cap. 2. By a statute made in the 11th year of Henry the Seventh, it was enacted,
 that no prentice should play at tenys, clash, dice, cards, bowles, or such-like
 unlawful games (except durence the Christmas hollydayes, and then only within
 their masters houses); also any housholder allowing any of the above games in
 his house (at Christmas excepted) should be fined 6s. 8d. for every offence.

Country
 Content.
 fol. 107.
 cap. 8.

Of the bowls and tennice, as mentioned above, hear what an old book, inti-
 tuled Country Contentments, saith:—"Bowling, in which a man shall finde
 great art in choosung out his ground, and preventing the winding, hanging, and
 many turning advantages of the same, wether it be in open feild places or in
 close allies. And in this sport the chusing of the bowle is the greatest cunning;
 your flat bowles being the best for allies; your round byazed bowles for open
 grounds of advantage; and your round bowles like a ball, for green swarthes,
 that are plain and level.—Not inferior to this sport, either for health or action,
 are the *tenise* and *balloone*; the first a pastime in close or open courts, striking a
 little ball to and fro, either with the palm of the hand, or with a racket; the
 other a strong and moveing sport in the open fields, with a great ball of double
 leather filled with wind, and driven to and fro with the strength of a man's arm
 armed with a bracer of wood."—This last game was of late years revived by
 some Italians, and a yard for that purpose made at Pimlico; they called it the
Olympic game.

Passionate
 Madman
 Act 1.

In the Passionate Madman, of Beaumont and Fletcher, I find mention of
 some other games: a gentleman therein says,

Or may I thrive as I deserve at billiards;
 No other wise at chess, or at *primero*.

Dumb
 Knight.

In the Dumb Knight also mention is made of another, named *mount cent*;
 the name was taken from hundreds; it was play'd by counting. This *mount
 cent*, as well as the *primero*, were games upon the cards.

A book intituled "The compleat Gamester," printed ann. 1674, contains instructions for the following games:—First of *billiards*, of *trucks* (not much unlike *billiards*) of *bowling*, and of the game at *chefs*. Then follows the games at cards; of picket, of gleeke, l'ombre, cribbage, all fours, English ruff and honours, and whist, French ruff, five cards, costly colours, bone ace, put and the high game, wit and reason, the art of memory, plain dealing, queen Nazareen, lanterloo, penneech, post and pair, bankafalet; beast.—Then follows games within the tables; of Irish, backgammon, tick tack, dubblets, fice ace, ketch dolt:—Games without the tables; inn and inn, of passage, of hazard;—together with the whole art and mystery of *riding*, whether the great horse, or any other. To which is added, of racing, of archery, and of cock-fighting.

Compleat
Gamester.
1674.

Amongst the robustic exercises, are to be reckoned those of wrestling and hurling, "which (says Norden) were sharpe and severe activities, for which the Cornish men were famous. The first (adds he) is violent, but the second is dangerous: the first is in two sortes, by holdster (as they call it) and by the collar; the seconde likewise of two sortes, as hurling to goales, and hurling to the countrye."—Amongst these we may place the gymnastic exercises with the fists, cudgelling, and the like; and yet these are but play to those cruel feats exhibited in the beginning of the present century. Take an advertisement from a news-paper, dated 1701, November the 12th.

Norden's
Gen. Hist.
of Cornwall

"At his majesty's Bear-garden, at Hockley in the Hole, a trial of skill is to be performed to-morrow, being Wednesday the 12th instant November, 1701, between William Carpenter, of Oxford, (who lately fought the Champion of the West) and does now invite Thomas Cook, butcher of Gloucester, both masters of the noble science, to fight with the usual weapons.—I the said Thomas Cook, for our former disappointment of gentlemen, now will not fail (God willing) wet or dry, money or no money, to meet the fair inviter, desiring a clear stage, and from him no favour.—Note, I desire all gentlemen to come exactly at two of the clock; for, upon honour, I do promise it shall be a good prize, if there is no box, as if there was a box of fifty pound."

From the
Collect. of
Title Pages
in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 593k.

In another advertisement of this sort, dated 1709, the champions promise, at two o'clock exactly, to exercise with the following weapons, viz. *back sword*, *sword and dagger*, *sword and buckler*, *single falchion*, and *case of falchions*;—and in yet another bill, besides the foregoing weapons, we find *sword and gauntlet*, and *quarter staff*. With these weapons they used to fight on stages, generally taking the greatest care not to slay, but only maim and disfigure their antagonists.—It is surprizing that people, who call themselves Christians, could delight in beholding such cruel and inhuman trials of the skill and activity of the champions!

Ibid.

Now we are speaking of the amusements shown forth at the Bear-garden, we must not omit the following:—

At the Bear-Garden at Hockley in the Hole, 1710.

This is to give notice to all gentlemen gamesters, and others, that on this present *Monday* is a match to be fought by two dogs, one from *Newgate* market, against

Ibid.

against one of *Honey-lane* market, at a bull, for a guinea to be spent: five let goes out of hand; which goes fairest, and furthest in, wins all.—Likewise a *green bull* to be baited, which was never baited before, and a bull to be turned loose with fire-works all over him: also a mad ass to be baited.—Likewise there are two bear dogs to *jump*, three *jumps* a piece, at a bear, which *jumps* highest, for ten shillings to be spent: with variety of bull and bear baiting; and a dog to be drawn up with fire works.

☞ To begin exactly at three of the clock. *Vivat Regina.*

Vide Vol. 2, of this work, pag. 99. Some mention has already been made, in the second volume, of the *May sports*, and the following quotation may serve still further to elucidate the ancient manner of them: it is from the Knight of the Burning Pestle, by Beaumont and Fletcher. In the 4th act the Citizen says, “Let *Ralph* come out on May-day, in the morning, and speak upon a conduit, with all his scarfs about him, and his feather, and his rings, and his knacks, as Lord of the May.”—Soon after *Ralph* enters, properly habited, and makes an occasional speech, saying,

With gilded staff, and crossed scarf, the *May Lord* here I stand.

————— Oh you, I say, of this same noble town,
And lift aloft your velvet heads, and slipping of your gowns,
With bells on legs, and napkins clean unto your shoulders ty'd,
With scarfs and garters as you please, and hey for our town cry'd;
March out and show your willing minds, by twenty and by twenty,
To *Hogsdon*, or to *Newington*, where ale and cakes are plenty:
And let it ne'er be said, for shame, that we, the youths of London,
Lay thruming of our caps at home, and left our custome undone.

Besides all this, they used to make mock processions, with various pageants, &c. amongst which usually was the maid *Marian*, who was represented by a boy habited like a woman, and he walk'd with a mincing pace, to imitate the female gait.

Halls Union in Vit. H. 8. Take also the following account of a Maying from Hall.—“In the seventh year of his reign, king Henry the Eighth, on *May-day* morning, with queene Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies, rode a maying from Greenwich, to the high ground on Shooter's Hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espyed a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene, with greene hoods, and with bowes and arrowes, to the number of 200. One, being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who required the king and all his company to stay and see his men shoot; wherto the king granting, Robin Hood whistled, and all the 200 archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled againe, they likewise shot againe: their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queene, and their company.—Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the greene wood, where, in arbours made with boughes, and deckt with flowers, they were set, and served plentifully with venison and wine, by Robin Hood and his meyny, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes.” By

Vide Stow's Survey. fol. 78. & 80.

By way of concluding this chapter, I shall just observe, that bonfires and other rejoicings of like nature, were not only patronised, but even commanded, by the kings of England, on particular occasions; — thus, at the conclusion of the marriage between the prince of Castile, and Mary, daughter to king Henry the Seventh; — the king, by his letter, directed to the mayor and aldermen of London, informed them, that the above marriage was finally concluded; after which preamble, the letter thus finishes. — “As we doubt not but yee, and every of you, will take pleasure and comfort in the hearing thereof; so, with convenient diligence, upon the sight of these our letters, ye will cause demonstrations and tokens of rejoicing and comfort, to be made in sundry places, within our city; there aswell by making fyers, in such places as you shal thinke convenient, as otherwise in the best, and most comfortable manner that ye can; so that thereby yt maie be evidently knowne, what gladnes and rejoysing is to be generally taken and made, &c.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd Ti-
tus, B. 1.

MARRIAGES, &c.

To what has been already said on this subject, we may justly add the following remarks; — and first we will speak of the gallantry of our ancestors. — The lover did not dare to approach his sovereign mistress with his vows of love, till, with some sweet madrigal, or enchanting panegyric, he had, by extolling her beauty, her charms, her graces, and her virtues, softened her heart, and paved the way for his addresses: but, however they might flourish away with their metaphors and similes, it is but justice to clear them from the bombastic stile of the more modern gallants. — The raising the object of their heart above the clouds, and making her equal, if not superior in beauty, to the inhabitants of the bless'd abodes, was a sort of superlative nonsense, unknown to, or at least unpracticed by them; — No: 'tis to the inventive genius of their wise and improving offspring, we owe these wondrous and extraordinary sallies of an elevated and aspiring soul! — We may justly say that love-compliments, in the earlier ages, were but in the bud, but matured and brought to perfection, in the succeeding times. — In a love poem (at least as early as the reign of Edward the First) I find the enamour'd swain contents himself with only declaring, that his mistress is the fairest lass betwixt Lincoln and London. But let the reader judge for himself of the stile and fashion of this love-inspired production:

When the nyhtengale singes, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and blosme springes, in Averyl y wene;
Ant love is to myn herte gon, with one spere so kene,
Nyht and day my bled hyt drynkes, myn harte deth me tene:
Ich have loved al this yer, that y may love na more,
Ich have siked mani syk, Lemmon for thin ore,
Yet mi love never the ner, and that me reweth fore;
Suete Lemmon think on me, ich have loved the fore,
Suete Lemmon, y preye the of love one speche,
Whil y lyve in world so wyde, other nille y seche:

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2353.

With

With thy love my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche,
 A suete cof of thy mowth mihte be my leche;
 Suete Lemmon y preye the, of a love bene,
 Gef thou me lovest, ase men says, Lemmon as y wene
 Ant gef hit the wille, be thou loke that hit be sene,
 So muchol y thonke upon the, that al y waxe grene;
 Bitwene Lyncolne and Lynderfeye, Northamtonn, ant Lounde,
 Ne wot y non so fayr a mayd, as y go for ybounde:
 Suete Lemmon y preye the, thou lovie me a stounde,
 Y wole mone my song, on wham that hit ys on ylong.

MS. penes
 Author.

Now, seriously, I think that this little poem (the occasion considered) is very modest, and entirely within the bounds of reason:---perhaps quite the same cannot be said of the following flourish, which (as we are told at the end) was written by a duke of York. It is contained in a MS. on paper, in my own possession and, by the hand-writing, and a subsequent entry, appears to be as old as the reign of Henry the Fifth; as the whole of the poem would be too long to insert it entire, I have only selected some of the most striking stanzas:

Excellent soveraine semely to see, - - Proved prudence, peerless of pris,
 Bright bloffome of benyngnyte, - - - Figure fairest, and freshest of devys:
 I recomande me to your rialness, - - As lovely as I can or may,
 Besechyng inwardly your gentlenesse, - Let never faynt hert true love betraye.
 Your womanly beaute delicious, - - - Hath me hent all into his cheyne,
 But ye graunte me your love gracious, - My hert will melt, as snowe in reyne.
 Yif ye wist my lyfe, and knewe, - - - And af the peynes that y feell,
 Y wys ye wold upon me rewe, - - - Though your hert wer made of steell.
 And though ye be of high renoun, - - Let mercy enclyne your hert so fre,
 To you lady this is my boun, - - - - To graunt me grace, in som degre.
 Myn hert is set in your delite, - - - - Preveth it well be experience,
 And to you my trouth I plyte, - - - - That ever y drede your offence.
 Allas that God ne hadde - - - - By verry reasonne of truthe,
 In your persone properly made - - - - Half your beaute, merci and ruthe.
 But fortune is no thinge my frende, - - But ever she casteth me to spille,
 For love y may no longer lende, - - - So he proposeth me to spille.
 But sith it stant in suche degre, - - - And may none otherwyse trende,
 Of farewell, myn end shall be, - - - - To youwarde, wher ever ye wende.
 Farewell ladi of grete pris, - - - - Farewell wys, both fare, and free,
 Farewell freefull flourdelys, - - - - Farewell burell, brighte of ble,
 Farewell saphir, soverain of assay, - - - Farewell feir, freshest and fre,
 Farewell rubye, rial of array, - - - - Farewell dyamand, dere in degre,
 Farewell perle, pris preifable, - - - - Farewell cristall, coriouse in kynde,
 Farewell amycest, all amyable, - - - - Farewell emeraude, most of mynde.

Farewell

Farewell creature, comely of kynde, - Farewell lanterne, luffom of light,
 Farewell mynder, most of my mynde; Farewell soverain, semely in fighte.
 Farewell amerouse, and amyable, - - Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,
 Farewell pured pris, prisable, - - - - Farewell ryall rose in the rys;
 Farewell fair, and fre figurable, - - - Farewell womanly wight in the wede,
 Farewell dereworth, and delitable, - - Farewell foison your love for to fede.
 Farewell carbounce, chosen chiefe, - Farewell gloriouse, as gold y grave,
 Farewell pured principall in prees, - - Farewell graciously; God you save!
 Farewell derworth of dignite, - - - - Farewell grace of governaunce,
 How ever y fare—farewell ye, - - - - Farewell prymerose, my plesaunce.

[*Explicit Amor. per ducem Ebor. nup. fact.*]

This rises a little higher than the former;—but what shall we say of the following strange mixture of old French and English? We must surely in extasy cry out, Oh, it is the tender breathing of the love-sick soul!—However, reader, take it as it is, from the above-mentioned MS.

Ex ibid.
 MS. penes
 Author.

En Jhesu roy soverayne, - - - - You lady fair and fre,
 En fyne amour certain, - - - - Als reason telleth me,
 Come a mon coer demesne, - - Swetyng y grete the,
 Unquore durant en peyne, - - But ye my bote be;
 Quar en foye vous die, - - - - I holde noon your peer;
 Desore en vous affie, - - - - As in my true feer,
 Tre doulce, tresbein ame, - - Myn onne derlyng dere:—
 De votre loial vie - - - - - Blethly wold y here,
 Tre doulce creature, - - - - - Myn hert is wonder wo
 Pur votre longe demure - - - - That is so fer me fro:
 Ore swetyng loial & pure, - - Let not our love go,
 Qar certain & sure, - - - - - Y love you, and no moo;
 Si jeo les ose dire, - - - - - That is agein skill,
 Qune chast coer desire - - - - That ye may fullfille,
 Se vous quant jeo remembre, - Fair so flour on hill,
 Sovent foitz supprice, - - - - I figh, and mone full still:
 Ne poet estre a taunt, - - - - As y wolde with right,
 Mais Jhesu tout puissaunt, - - Of you me send a fight.

But what is even this, to the suns, the moons, the stars, the Cupids, the flames, and the darts, of the latter ages?

In the Harleian Library I meet with a remarkable note; it is as follows:—
 “By the civil law, whatsoever is given ex sponsalitia largitate, betwixt them that are promised in marriage, hath a condition (for the most part silent) that it may be had again, if marriage ensue not: but if the man should have had a kiss for his money, he should lose one half of that which he gave. Yet with the woman it is otherwise, for kissing, or not kissing, whatsoever she gave, she may ask and have it again: however, this extends only to gloves, rings, bracelets, and such-like small wares.”

MS. in the
 Harl. Lib.
 980.

Stow's Chr. In the reign of Elizabeth (says Howe, in his additions to Stow's Chronicle)
 pag. 1039. it was "the custome for maydes, and gentelwomen, to give their favorites, as
 Edit. fol. tokens of their love, little handkerchiefs of about three or four inches square,
 An. 1631. wrought round about, and with a button or a tassell at each corner, and a little
 one in the middle with filke and threed: the best edged with a small gold lace,
 or twist, which being foulded up in foure crosse foldes, so as the middle might
 be seene, gentlemen and others did usually wear them in their hatts, as favours
 of their loves and mistresses: some cost six pence apiece, some twelve pence, and
 the richest sixteene pence."—And of the gentleman's present, a lady in Cupid's
 Revenge, of Beaumont and Fletcher, says—

Cupid's Re-
 venge, act 2.

Given earrings we will wear,
 Bracelets of our lovers hair,
 Which they on our arms shall twist,
 (With their names carv'd) on our wrists.

History of Jack of Newbury. Some of the ceremonies relative to marriages amongst the middling sort of
 people, we find in the old history of John Newchombe, the wealthy clothier of
 Newbury. Speaking of his marriage, the author says, "The bride being
 attired in a gown of sheeps ruffet, and a kertle of fine worsted, her head attired
 with a billiment of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold hanging down behind
 her, which was curiously comb'd, and pleated, according to the maner of those
 days: she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces, and
 rosemary tied about their filken sleeves; the one was Sir Thomas Parry, the
 other Sir Francis Hungerford.—Then was there a fair bride cup, of silver gilt,
 carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair,
 and hung about with filken ribbands of all colours; next there was a noise of
 musicians, that play'd all the way before her.—After her came the chiefeft
 maidens of the country, some bearing bride cakes, and some garlands made of
 wheat, finely gilded, and so pass'd to the church: and the bridegroom finely
 apparelled, with the young men, followed close behind."

Silent Wo-
 man.

Still more I gather from Johnson's Silent Woman. Lady Haughty says to
 Morose, "We see no ensigns of a wedding here, no character of a brideale.
 Where be our skarves, and our gloves? I pray you give 'em us. Let us know
 your bride's colours, and your's at least."—And after she adds,

You to offend, in such a high point of ceremony as this,
 And let your nuptials want all marks of solemnity!
 What plate have you lost to-day! what gifts!
 What friends! and all through your rusticity!

Hence we may learn, that the friends of the new espoused couple used, on the
 day of their wedding, to make them presents of plate, and other things, accord-
 ing to their ability.

But to return: Lady Haughty continuing her speech, adds, "I intimate
 your errours to you;—no gloves, no garters, no skarves, no epithalamium, no
 masque," &c.—These latter were the fashionable entertainments, even in the
 politest

politest and greatest families; and therefore in the old play of Massenger, intituled "A New Way to pay Old Debts," the Page justly says that his Lord "stands resolv'd with all due pomp to have his marriage celebrated, as with running at the ring, plays, masques and tilting," &c.

Comedy
called New
Way to pay
Old Debts.

Of the lower class of people, we have some intimation in Johnson's Tale of a Tub. The maidens in the morning early, on the bridegroom's first appearance, usually presented him with a bunch of rosemary, bound with ribbands; to the which custom Turf alludes, when speaking of Clay, the intended bridegroom, who was just arrived—"Look (says he) and the wenches ha' not found un out, and do present un with a van of rosemary, and bays enough to vill a bow pott, or trim the head of my best vore horse: we shall all ha' bride laces, or points, I zee."—Neither went they to church without their music; and this was so common a custom, that Dame Turf (in the same play) thus reproaches her husband: "A clod you should be called, to let no music go afore your child to church, to chear her heart up!"—And after Scriben, seconding the good old dame's rebuke, adds, "She's i'th' right, fir; for your wedding dinner is starv'd, without music."

Tale of a
Tub.

It was customary of old time (especially with the more common people) upon a verbal contract of marriage, and promises of love, to break a piece of gold, or silver, in token thereof; one half the woman kept, and the other part remained with the man. In the play of the Widow this custom is mentioned, and to it is joined another, which I knew not of before, namely, drinking to each other. The passage is as follows:—The Widow complaining that Ricardo, had artfully drawn her into a verbal contract, one of her suitors thus enquires, "Stay, stay! you broke no gold between you?" She answers, "We broke nothing, fir." He adds, "Nor drank to each other?" She again replies, "Not a drop, fir." Then he concludes from thence, that the contract cannot stand good in law.—So much for the ceremonies before marriage.

The Widow
a Comedy,
by Johnson,
Fletcher, &
Middleton.

At Dunmow priory, in Essex, a whimsical custom prevailed. "In this priory (says a MS. in the Harleian Library) arose a custom, begun and instituted either by Robert Lord Fitz Walter (who lived in the reign of Henry the Third) or one of his immediate successors,—that he who repents him not of his marriage, sleeping or waking, in a year or a day, may lawfully come to Dunmow, and fetch a gammon of bacon; which bacon was delivered with such solemnity and triumph as they of the priory and townsmen could make. The manner of it was as follows:—The party or pilgrim for the bacon was to take an oath before the prior, the convent, and the whole town, humbly kneeling in the church-yard, upon two hard and pointed stones" (which stones are to be seen in the priory church to this day).—The form of the oath, as modernized in the MS. is as follows:

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
infig. 980,
et alia.

" You shall swear by custome of confessions,
If ever you made any nuptial trangrecion;
Be ye eyther married, man or wife,
By household brawls, or contentious strife,
Or otherwise, in bed, or at borde,
Offended each other in deede, or in worde;

Or since the parish clerke saide Amen,
 Wished yourselles unmarried agen;
 Or in a twelve month time and a day,
 Repented not, in thought, any maner of way,
 But continued true, and just in desire,
 As when you joined handes in holy quire:
 If to these condicions, withouten all feare,
 Of youre owne accord, you will truely sweare,
 You shall of oure bacon of Dunmow receive,
 To bear it hence, with love, and good leave;
 For this is our custom of Dunmow, well known,
 Tho' the pastime be our's, the bacon's your own.

"This oath being administered, with a long procession, and singing over him all the while, he was afterwards taken up, and carried upon mens shoulders; first about the priory church-yard, and after through the town, with all the friers and brethren, and all the townsfolk, young and old, following with acclamations and shouts, with his bacon before him; and afterwards (recieving the bacon) he returned home."

It appears, by the records of the house, that three several persons had of this bacon, at three several times.

"Be it remembred, that one Richard Wright, of Badebrigh, neare the citte of Norwich, in the counte of Norfolke, yeaman, came, and required of the bacon of Dunmow, namely the 27th daye of Aprille, in the 23 yeare of the reigne of Henrie 6th, and according to the forme of the charter, was sworne before John Cannon, pryor of thys place, and the convent, and many other neighbours; and there was delivered to him, the said Richard, one fleecche of bacon."

"Be it remembered, that one Stephyn Samvell, of Little Ayfton, in the county of Essex, husbandman, came to the priory of Dunmow on our Lady Daye, in Lent, the seaventh yeare of kinge Edward the Fourthe, and required a gammon of bacon, and was sworne before Roger Bullatt, prior, and the convent of this place, as also before a multitude of other neighbours; and there was delivered unto hym one gamone of bacon."

"Be it remember'd, that in the yeare of our Lorde 1510, Thomas le Fuller, of Coggeshall in the county of Essex, came to the priory of Dunmow, and required to have some of the bacon of Dunmow; and on the 8th daye of September (being Sunday) in the 2^d yeare of kinge Henrie the Eight, he was, according to the forme of the charter, sworne before John Tyles, then pryor of the house, and the convent, as also before a multitude of neighboures; and there was delivered unto the said Thomas, a gammon of bacon."

These three claims made of the bacon, were before the dissolution of the monasteries; and since that period, it has also been demanded and received just three times more. The last was as late as June the 20th, 1751, when one Thomas Shakeshaft, a weaver, living in the parish of Weathersfield, in the county

county of Essex, with Anne his wife, claimed the bacon, which was with much mock pageantry delivered to them.*

Though, in the above register of the claimants, we find the first is in the reign of Henry the Sixth, yet this institution was certainly of much more ancient date. I find this mention of it in the Visions of Pierce Plowman:

Pier. Plow-
man's Passus
Nonus.

Or those who marry for gain,
And though thei do hem to Donnow, but if the Devil help
To follow after the fliche, fetch they it never,
And but they be both forsworne, &c.

And also as follows, in Chaucer's Wife of Bath's prologue:

The bacon was not set for hem, I trow,
That some men have in Essex, at Dunmow.

The Wife of
Bath's Pro-
logue, fol. 32
Edit. Chau-
cer, 1602.

A custom of similar nature was held at Whichenovre, in Staffordshire; of which, together with the whole procession, and manner of the delivery of the flitch of bacon, the reader may find a long account in Plott's History of that county:—and (as Mr. Pennant has kindly informed me) in the hall of the mansion-house, where the bacon formerly was delivered, right over the chimney-piece, yet hangs the flitch, cut out in wood and painted.

Plott's Ox-
fordshire.

Another strange custom also was held at Kylmerdon, in Somersetshire. The wife had the estate of her husband; but if she marrieth again, she thereby lost her land; and if she was found to be incontinent, she also forfeited her land: but she might again have it restored to her, provided she would come into the open court, and there plainly acknowledge her incontinency.

From the
above-men-
tioned MS.
Vide Spec-
tator, V. 7. i.

To this chapter it may not be improper to add the following account of the ceremonies which were used, and the manner of the queen's taking her chamber, ann. 5 of Henry the Seventh, when she was with child:

Ex MS. in
Bib. Cotton,
infig. Julius,
B. XII.

“Item, Upon All-hallow even, the quene tooke her chamber at Westmynster, gretely accompanied with ladyes and gentilwomen; that is to say, the lady the kinges modir, the duchesse of Northfolk, and many oudre; havynge before hir the greate parte of the nobles of thys royalme, being present at this parlement: and she was ledde by therle of Oxenforde, and therle of Derby; and the reverent fader in God, the bishop of Excestre, song the *masse*, in *pontificalibus*, and after *agnus Dei*; and whan the bishop had done, the quene was lede as bifore; and therles of Shrewsbury, and of Kente, hylde the towelles, whan the quene toke her *rightes*; and the torches ware holden by knightes, and after *mass*, accompayned as before; and when she was comen into hir great chambre, she stode undre hir cloth of estate; then their was ordeyned a voide af espices, and swet wyne; that doone, my lorde, the quenes chamberlain, in very goode wordes, desired, in the quenes name, the pepul there present to pray God to sende hir the

* One Mr. Ogborne, of Chelmsford in Essex, was present there, and painted a very exact representation of the above-mentioned procession, which he caused to be engraved, an. 1752.

the goodeoure (*hour*): and so she departed to her inner chambre, which was hanged, and sceyled, with riche clothe of arras of blew, with flour de lisis of gold, without any other clothe of arras of ymagerye, whiche is not convenient about wymen in such case: and in that chambre was a riche bedde and palliet, the which palliet had a marviellous riche canope of clothe of gold, with velvet paly of divers colours, garneshyd with rede roses, enbrodured with two riche pannes of crymson, couvered with raynes of lande; also ther was a riche auter (*altar*) well furnyshed with reliques, and a riche cupborde well and richely garnyshed; and then she recomanded hir to the goode praiers of the lordes, and then my lord her chamberleyn drew the travers; and frome thens forthe no maner of officers came within the chambre, but ladies, and gentelwomen, after the olde coustume.

Ceremonies, &c. relative to Funerals.

See Vol. 2,
pag. 105, 6,
7, 8, & 9.
Lib. Regal.
in Arch. of
Westminst.
MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
Nero, D. vi.
MS. penes
author.

To the account of the royal obsequies, set forth in the second volume of this work, I beg leave to add the following preparatory directions for the treatment of the corps of the kings of England, before they were buried. It is extracted from the *Liber Regalis*, preserved in the Abbey of Westminster, and immediately follows the coronation ceremonies. In the same manner it is found in a MS. in the Cotton Library, as also again in another in my own possession.

“*De exequiis regalibus cum ipsos ex hoc seculo migrare contigerit.*”

“Cum Rex inunctus migraverit ex hoc seculo, primo a suis cubiculariis, corpus ejusdem aqua calida sive tepida lavari debet; deinde balsamo et aromatibus unguetur per totum. Et postea in panno lineo cerato involvetur; ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tantum pateant. Et circa manus et digitos ipsius dictus pannus ceratus ita erit dispositus ut quilibet digitus cum pollice utriusque manus singillatim insuatur per se; ac si manus ejus cirothecis lineis essent coopertæ. De cerebro tamen et visceribus caveant cubicularii prædicti.—Deinde corpus induetur tunica usque ad talos longa; et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero ipsius decenter componetur super pectus illius; et postmodum caput, cum facie ipsius, sudario serico cooperietur: ac deinde corona regia aut diadema capite ejusdem apponetur. Postea induentur manus ejus cirothecis cum aurofragiis ornatis; et in medio digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus. Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata in qua virga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis quod super pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari;—in sinistra vero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum: ac postremo tibiæ et pedes ipsius caligis sericis et sandaliis induentur:—Tali vero modo dictus princeps adornatus cum regni sui pontificibus et magnatibus ad locum quem pro sua sepultura eligerit cum omni reverentia deferetur, et cum exequiis regalibus honestissimæ tradetur sepulturæ.”

When the reader hath read the above directions, he is referred to N^o. 19 of plate 6, (of the second volume) where he will see the king laid forth, as is just described; and this representation is copied from the illumination which in the *Liber Regalis* is prefix'd to the above directions.

The

The funeral procession of Henry the Seventh, together with the ceremonies thereto belonging, are thus set forth by Hall, in his Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster:—

Hall's Union
in Vit.
Hen. 8.
fol. 18.

“After that all thynges necessary for the interment and funeral pompe of the late king (Hen. 7th) were sumptuously prepared and done, the corps of the said defunct was brought out of his privy chamber, into the great chamber, wher he rested thre daies, and every daie had there dirige and masse song by a prelate mitered: and from thence he was conveighed into the halle, where he also was three daies, and had like service there; and so thre daies in the chapell; and in every of these three places was a hearse* of waxe, garnished with banners, and 9 mourners gevyng there attendance all the service tyme; and every daie thei offered, and every place chaunged with blacke clothe. Upon Wednufdaie the 9th daie of Maiey the corps was putte into a chariott covered with blacke clothe of gold, drawn with 5 greate coursers, covered with blacke velvet, garnished with cufshions of fine gold; and over the corps was a image or a representation of the late kyng, laied on cufshions of golde, and the said image was appareled in the kinges riche robes of estate, with a crowne on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes; and the chariot was garnished with banners and pencelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kinges chapell, and a great nombre of prelates, set forward praïyng: then folowed all the kynges servauntes in blacke; then folowed the chariot, and after the chariot 9 mourners, and on every side wer caried long torches and shorte to the nombre of six hundred; and in this order thei came to Sainte George's felde, from Richemonde (*for he died at Richmond*). There met with theim all the preistes and clearkes, and religious men within the citee, and without (whiche wente formoste, before the kynges chapell). The maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and so gave their attendaunce on the same through the citee: and in good ordre the compaignie passed through the citie, wherof the streetes on every side were set with long torches, and on the stalles stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reverence the chariott was brought to the cathedrall church of Sanct Paule, wher the body was taken out, and carried into the quire, and set under a goodly herse of waxe garnished with banners, pencelles and cufshions, where was sounge a solempne dirige, and a masse, with a sermon, made by the byfshoppe of Rochester; duryng which tyme the kynges household and the mourners reposed themselves in byfshoppe of Rochester palis. The next daie the corps, in like order, was removed toward Westminster, Sir Edward Hayward bearynge the kinges banner, on a courser trapped in the armes of the defunct.

“In

* The *hearse* was usually a four-square frame of timber, which was hung with black cloth, and garnished with flags and scutcheons; as also a great quantity of lights, according to the wealth and quality of the person deceased. — I find the following dimensions for a hearse in the Harleian Library: “Each side was twelve foot broad, and each corner post twelve foot high; from each of these posts arose a rafter slanting, and all four rafters met at the top, and mortic'd in an upright post in the middle, which rise about four foot above the corner posts.”

" In Westminster was a curious herse, made of 9 principalles, full of lightes, which were lighted at the comynge of the corps, whiche was taken out of the chariot by fixe lordes, and set under the herse, the image or the representation lying upon the cushyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed; within the firste railes satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile stode knightes bearyng banners of sainctes, and without the same stode officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Garter Kyng at Armes cried for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the VII. late kyng of this realme; the quire beganne *placebo*, so song the dirige, whyche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the palaice, where they had voyde, and so reposed for that night.

" The next daie wer three masses solemly song, by busshoppes, and at the last masse was offored the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target, and his helme; and at thende of masse the mourners offored up riche paulles of clothe of gold and baudekin, and when the quire sang *libera me*, the body was put into the yearth; and then the lorde treasurer, lorde stewarde, lorde chamberlein, the tresorer, and comptroller of the kynges household, brake their staves and cast them into the grave. Then Garter cried with a loude voyce, *Vive le roy Henry le Huites-me, roy Dangler & de Fraunce, sire Dirland!* (*Long live king Henry the Eighth, king of England, of France, and lord of Ireland!*) Then all the mourners, and all other that had geven their attendance on this funerall obsequie, departed to the palaice, where they had a great and sumptuous feast."

MS. in the Cotton Lib. mark'd Ju- lius, B. 12.

The order in which a funeral of any noble person was conducted, was as follows in the reign of Henry the Seventh; the which I find in a curious MS. of that age:

" This is the Ordynaunce, and Guyding, that pertayneth unto the worshipfull Beryng of any Estate, to be done in Maner and Fourme ensuyng."

" Furste, to be offerde a sworde, by the moost worshipfull of the kynne of the aforefaid estate; and if none be attending, it shold bee presented by the moost worshipfull man that is present ther, on his pette.

" Item, In like wise his shelde, his coote of worshp, his helme, and cresse.

" Item, To be had a baner of the Trenite, a baner of our Ladye, a baner of St. George, a baner of the seynt that was his advoure, and a baner of his armes.

" Item, A panon of hys armes, and standard, and his beste (*supporters*) therein.

" Item, A getone of his device, with his worde (*motto*).

" Item, A double valance aboute the herse, both above and byneath, with his worde, and his device, written therein.

" Item, XII scochones of his armes, to be sett upon the barres, without and within the herse; and 3 dozen penselles, to stande aboven, upon the herse, amongst the lightes.

" Item, To be ordeyned as many scochones as be pilers in the chirche, and scochones to be set in the 4 quarters of the saide churche, as best is to be sette by discretion.

" Item,

“*Item*, As many torches as the saide estate was of yeres of age, and on every torche a scochone hanging, and the beerers of the torches in blak.

“*Item*, To be ordaynede standyng, 5 officers of armes about the saide herse; that is to saye, one before the saide herse, bearing the coote of armes of worship, and he standyng at the hede, in the middle warde of the said herse; the second standing on the right side of the herse, in the fore front, bearyng his sworde; and the 3d standyng on the lyste side of the saide herse, bearinge his helmet and creste; the 4th on the right side of the saide hers, in the nether part, bering his baner of armes; and the 5th standyng on the lyste syde, in the nether parte, he bearing his penon, so standyng till the offering; and the baners of the Trenite, our Lady, St. George, and the baner of his advowre, to be sett above in partes of the said hers, and his standard also.

“*Item*, To be ordenede certeyne clothes of golde, for the ladies of his kynne, being within the said hers; and they to offere the said clothes of gold.

“*Item*, A scochone of innocentes, clothed in white, every innocent bearyng a taper in his hand.

“*Item*, The horse of the said estate, trappede with his armes, and a man of armes, being of his kinis (*kindred*) upon the same horse; or else any other man of worship, in hys name, havynge in his hande a spere, swerde, or axe, so to be presentede to the offringe, in the chirche; with 2 worshipfull men, oon goeing one that oon side of his hors, and that other on that other side of the hors; and a man ledyng the same hors.

“*Item*, The heire of the said estate, after he hath offered, shall stande upon the lyste side of the preste, receyvinge the offering of the swerde, helme, and creste, baner of armes, cote of worship, and penon.

“*Item*, 2 men of worship, to stand on the same side of the preste, holdynge a bason with money therin, for the offeringe.”

And the same forms were continued till the Reformation, and utter abolishment of the Romish religion. The whole ceremonial rites are still more fully explained, in another MS. written early in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The maner of orderinge of every man, at the settinge forth of a Corps, and how they shall goe, after their Estate and Degree.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd Ti-
berius, E.
VIII.

First the crosse, then the clarke and priestes; then they of the church where the corps shall be buried, must have the preheminence to go next the corps, within their jurisdictions; then the prelates that be in *pontificalibus*; then certayne gentlemen in *duell* (*mourning*) with their hoodes on their shoulders; then the chaplaynes of the defunct; then the overseers; then the executoures, wearinge their hoodes on their shuldres, because their faces should been seene, as ministers of the body, going in good ordre; then a gentleman in mourning habitte, with a hoode on his face, to beare the baner of his armes, if he be not under the degree of a bannerette, and if he be but a bachelor knight, to have a penon of his armes, and a guydon of his creste, and poseys written therin, and a

croffe of St. George in the chiefe; the banerett to have his standart made in lyke manner, with his creste, the banners or pennon, the right syde and left alike, and the standart between the gentlemen in duell and the prestes; and the herald at armes next before the corps, bearing the coate of the defunct in his handes, or on his backe, if there be two; also four banners of saintes, at the four corners, borne by fower gentlemen in mourninge, habitted with hoodes on their faces; that is to say, the banner of the Trenete at the right syde of the heade, the banner of our Ladye at the heade on lifte syde, the banner of St. George at feete on the righte syde, hys *avoury* (or *patron saint*) at the feete on the lefte syde; also to go next after the corps, the chiefe mourner alone, and the other frendes to go two and two, a certeyne space one from another; then the greatest estates; after al other to followe as servantes, and all that wyll: Also when the corps comethe where it shalle remayne, at the west doore, the prelate shall sence the corpes, which shall do the desired service: also six of them of the place, being prestes, or religious, must or ought to beare the corps, as also so many gentlemen; and at the fowre corners of the riche clothe, fowre of the greatest estates of the saide church must be supportinge, as if they bare him, and so to goe into the quyer, where there must be a goodlie herse, and branches well garnished with lightes, pencells, and scochones of his armes; and if he be an earle, he must have a maieste, and valence fringed; and if he be a knight banerett, he may have a valence fringed; and a bachellor knight none: also the said herse must be rayled aboute, and hanged with blacke clothe, and the grounde within the rayles also strayed with rushes; and the stoles and fourmes that mourners do lean upon; the chiefe mourner at the hede, and the other mourners at the sydes; also the helme, crest, wreath and mantell, must be at the heade of the beere, the shelde on the left syde, and the sworde on the righte syde the coat of armes, upon the beere; the banners to be holden within the rayles, in forme as they went; the herald to stand at the head of the corps, without the rayles, and all the other without the rayles, except the mourners: the quyer singinge diver anthemes, and at the *kyrieleyson*, one to say for the soule of *N. B. pater noster*; the mourners to goe their way after *libera me*, and the banners to be borne to the sepulchre with the corps; and the executors must see the enterring of the corps; and the helme and creast to be sett upon the highe alter, till the morrow at the masses; then they are to be putt on the beere or presentation.

The Manner of the Offringe, at the Enterment of Noble Men.

Furst, in the morninge betimes, masse of owre Lady be saide; the banners to be holden; the helme, shilde, sworde, the cote of armes, to be layde upon the bere, in dewe order, and the mourners in their places.

At the Offering Tyme.

The chiefe morner, accompayned with all the other, to go furthe at the heade on the left syde of the herse, and none to offer but the chiefe mourner at that masse, and he to offer 3s. 4d. and returne on the other syde to hys place that he came from; the herald (wearing his coate) before them, to and fro; and

and for lacke of the mourners at that masse, he may take the executors, or other mourninge habitte, to supply the roome of the mourners.

Item, The second masse of the Trynete, at the offringe, in like case as before, saveing that the chiefe mourner shall offer 5s.

Item, The thirde masse of *Requiem*, that to be songe by the noblest prelate in *pontificalibus*; the chiefe mourners, accompayned as before, shall offer 6s. 8d and so go to the places they come from; at every tyme the heraulde, or herauldis, there beyng (weryng theyre mastres cote of armes) going before the morner, to and fro, at offring, and to bringe them ageyne to their places; and the sayde officers of armes to stand wythout the rayles at the heade.

Item, Then muste be offered the cote of armes, by two of the greatest gentlemen.

Item, Two other to offer his sworde, the pommell, and the crosse, forewarde.

Item, Two to offer his helme and cresse.

Item, If he be of the degree of an earle, to have a knyghte ryding on a courser, trapped with the armes of the defunct; the sayd knyghte armed at all places, saveing the head; havynge in hys hande a battel axe, the pointe downewarde, led betweene too other knightes, from the west doore of the churche tyll they come to the *decke* (or dext, in the other copy) in the quyer, the officers of armes goynge before hym; and there the sayde knight to alight, and the sexton there to take the horse as hys fee; and the knight to be led to the offringe, and there to offer the axe, the pointe downewarde; then the sayde knight to be conveyde into the vestery, and there to be unarmed.

Item, Then the rest of the mourners to go in due order, two and two, to offer for themselves.

Item, If he be an earl, there must be two gentlemen, to bringe two clothes of bawdekin from one side of the quyer, and deliver them to the heralds, who shall deliver them to two of the greatest estates, which must offer them, the lowest estate first, and the greatest laste; some men calle these clothes *pawles*, and some clothes of gold; whiche shall remayne in the churche: then all other to offer that wyll, the greatest estates first next after the executors. The offeringe done, the sermon to begin; and at the laste ende of the masse (at *verbum caro factus est*) the banners of the armes, or pennons, to be offer'd.

Things necessarie to be had at the Enterment of a Knight.

First, A representation of his bodie, covered wyth blacke clothe, with a white crosse of sattyn damaske, or lynen clothe.

Item, Fourmes and rayles covered with blacke clothe, and garnished with scochons of hys armes.

Item, Four braunches, or a herse, garnished with pencelles.

Item, To have three masses, one of the Trenyte, one of our Ladye, one of *Requiem*.

Item, A doctor to make a sermon, and five men mourners, to offer his hatchments, as knightes, in black gownes and hoodes.

Item, Fower gentlemen for his fower banners of sayntes, and one for his standart, in black gownes and hoodes.

Item, Twelve stafe tourches, bourne by twelve yeomen in black cotes.

Item, Sixe braices of iron for his hatchement.

The Painter's Bill.

| | s. | d. | | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|----|----|------------------------------|----|----|----|
| <i>Item</i> , A coate of hys armes | 26 | 8 | Fower banners | 4 | - | - |
| A shield of hys armes | 6 | 8 | Fower dozen of eschochens, | | | |
| A helme, with creft and | 20 | 0 | two of mettals & two of | 20 | - | - |
| mantells | | | coller | | | |
| Standart of his cognysans | 26 | 8 | Fower dozen of pensells, for | 48 | - | - |
| | | | the braunches, &c. | | | |

What is necessary at the Burying of a Knyghte, (*from another copy.*)

Furst the place of sepulture, the watche of the corps 3. or 4. at the least nyghtley, unto suche tyme as the corps be beryed:—a knyghte to have 5. mourners, yche of theyme to have gownes and hoodys, 5 yards of blacke clothe; the officer at armes 5 yardes; the standerd, and penyons, and banner of sanctis, 3 blacke gownes and hoods: blacke gownes for the prelates, or prestes, for the 3 masses, oure Lady, the Treynety, and *Requiem*; and for the sarmond, the wax chandelers for torches, and branches for the herse, and tapers with branches.

Lyveries for Noble Men, at Interement; every Man according to his Estate.

A duke, for his gowne, flope, and mantille, 16 yards, at 10s. the yarde; and lyvery for 18 servautes.

An earle, for his gowne, flope, and mantell, 16 yerdes, at 8s. the yerde; a lyvery for 17 servautes.

A baron, or bannaratt, being knyghte of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, 6 yerds; and lyvery for 8 servautes.

A knight, 5 yardes, 6s. 8d. the yerd; and levery for 4 servautes.

An esquier for the body, as a knyght; and levery for 4 servautes.

The clothe for esquyers, and jentillmen, at 5s. the yard; levery for the 3 servautes.

None to where hoddies, under the degree of an esquier of housholde, but only such as are of a quarter of a yerd brode; and in tyme of ned they may wher hoddies.

None to where hoddies, with rolls flydide on hys heed, or otherwise, being under the degree of a baron, or earles son and heyre; but only hoodies without rolles.

Fees apperteynyng to Officers at Armys.

At the buriall of one, beyng a pere of the reallme, of the blode riall, or elles some of these officers, as conestable, marshall, chanceler, heygh treasurer, chamberlayn, lord admyrall, or lord preve seale, then hath been accostomyd all the offycars

offycars of the armis to wher the cottes of the kyngs armys, and to have theyr gownes, hoodes, and 5*℥*. to be devidyd amongyst them; in lykewise if anny lord of perlement chance to dye, duryng the tyme of perlement, they to have as afor ys sayd.

Fees apurtayninge to the Officer at Armes, at the Enterement of any Noble Persons, (*from another copy.*) In ibid. MS.

Imprimis, For his longe gowne, and hood, five yardes of blacke clothe, at six shillings and eight pence the yerde.—*Item*, If the corps be carried far, he must have fower yerdcs of blacke clothe for his ridinge gowne and hood, and for his trap-horse five yardes; and for every servaunte three yardes.—*Item*, The rayle withe the blacke clothe, within and without.—*Item*, The maieste, and valence.—*Item*, For a baron or his wiefes coste, or baneret or his wiefes coste, 20*s*.—*Item*, For a knight, or his wiefes coste, 20*s*.—*Item*, A captayne or esquier, or such as may have penons of armes, their costes 13*s*. 4*d*.—*Item*, An esquier, or gentleman havinge cote of armes, the costes 10*s*.

Memorandum. That no person, or persons, may set up at any enterement, or any other tyme, any cotes of armes, targe, sworde, helme, or creste, with mantelles, or with other apurtenances, as banners, penons, or rayles aboute the hese, without the knowleydge and thasent of the chiefe kyng at armes, or the kinge of armes of the same province, or the marshall; because of the orderinge of every noble persone, according to their estates and degrees; upon payne of pulling downe, and losse of the said thinges so sett up, and for their so doing to be punish'd by the kinges constable, or marshall, or the kynges courts, for the misfeinge, or exercising of the said fees, comytted and graunted by the kinges highness, and his predecessors, kinges of England, to the kinges at armes, and their deputies.

Order for wearing of Aparente.

Ordinaunces and Reformacions of Aparente, for Princes and Estates, with other Ladies and Gentlewomen, for the Tyme of Mourning; made by the right highe, and mighty, and excellent Princess Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Daughter and sole Heyre to the most noble Prince, John Duke of Somerset, and Mother to our most dread Soverayne Lorde, Kyng Henry the Seventh, the 8 Yeaere of his most noble Raigne.

First, It is ordayned the greatest estate to have their surcott, with a trayne before, and another behynde, and their mantells with traynes, and the greatest estate the longest trayne, with hoodes and tippets, as hereafter appeareth; and that in no manner of wise beakes be used, for the deformitye of the same.

Item, The queene to weare a surcotte, with a trayne before and another behynde, and a mantell with a trayne, and her grace to weare the longest trayne, because she is the greatest estate; and a playne hooche, wythoute clokes, and a tippet at her hooche, beyng of a goode lengthe, on the trayne of her mantell; and in breadth a nayle and an inche; and after the first quarter be pass'd, it shall be at the

the pleasure of her grace to have her mantell lined; it must be black sattin, or fine double sarcenet; and if it be furred, it must be with the ermyn, powdered at her grace's pleasure.

Item, That my lady the kinges mother, in mourninge apparell, were every thinge lyke the queene.

Item, The kinges daughters unmarried, sisters, and aunes, shall weare in all thinges like the queene, the trayne and tippets rather shorter.

Memorandum, The queenes sister representeth a duchess in the tyme of mourninge, and must have livery accordingly.

Item, A duchesse to weare a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde, and a playne hooide without clokes; and tippette at the hooide, in length to the grounde, and in breadth a nayle and a half an inche: and after the first quarter, the duchesse mantell to be lyned, or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with ermyne powdered, at the ende of the ermyne, saving that between every powdering, must be as muche space as the lengthe of the ermyne.

Item, A marquesse to weare a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde; a mantelle with a trayne; a playne hooide without clokes; a tippette at the hooide in lengthe to the grounde, saveing the nayle, and in bredth a nayle and quarter of an inche: and after the first quarter, the marquisses mantelle to be lyned or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with mynever, saving the edge both of the hooide and of the mantell, may be furred with ermyne powdered, and between every powdering the nayle.

Item, The countesse to wear a furcote, with a trayne before, and another behynde; a mantell with a trayne; a playne hooide without clokes; a tippette in lengthe to the grownde, at the hood, saveing half a quarter, and breadth a large nayle: and after the first quarter, the countesses mantell to be lyned or furred; and if it be furred, it must be with mynever, saveing the edge, both of the mantells and the hooide, may be with ermyne, powdered, and betweene every powdering halfe a quarter of a yard.

Item, A duchesses daughter to wear in all things as a countesse.

Item, A duchess dowager to weare in all thinges lyke a countesse.

Item, A marques's daughter to wear in all thinges as a baronesse.

Item, A baronesse to weare a furcote, without a trayne, and a mantell according; a hooide without clokes; a tipette in length to the grounde, saveing a quarter of a yerde, and in breadth a scarce nayle.

Item, An erles daughter to weare in all thinges as a baronesse.

Item, Lordes daughters, and knightes wives, to wear furcotes with medelyng traynes, and no mantells, their hoods with clokes; and tippettes in bredth 3 quarters of a nayle, and in length a yard and a half, to be pynned upon their arme.

Item, The queenes chefe gentlewoman, and esquires wiefes for the body, being in household, to weare in all thinges as lordes daughters; and all other the queenes gentlewomen, in household, to weare sloppes, or cot harders, and hooides and clokes; the tipettes a yerd longe, and an inche broad, to be pinned on the fydes of their hooides.

Memorandum,

Memorandum, Every one, not beyng under the degree of baronesse, to weare a barbe above the chynne; and all other as knyghtes wiefes, to were it under there throte, and other gentlewomen beneath the throte roll.

Item, Duchesses and countesses gentlewomen, as many as be barbed above the chyne tippet, in length and breadth as the queenes gentlewomen have.

For a barones no trayne; the trayne before to be narrowe, not exceeding the bredthe of 8 inches, and must be trussed up before, under the gyrdell, or above upon the lefte arme.

Item, All chamberers shall weare hoodes, with clokes, and no manner of tippettes.

Item, Greate estates wearing mantelles, when they ryde to have short clokes, and hoodes, with narrow tippets, to be bound about their heades; and alone as they come to court, they to laye away their whoodes; and that after the firste monthe, none to wear whoodes in their betters presence, but when they labour.

Item, The queene, my lady the kinges mother, the king's daughter, duchesses, marquisses and countesses apparele to be made of the fassion and largenesse as they weare used when they wore *bekes*, except the tippette to be instead of *beke*.

A *slope* is a mourning cassock for ladies and gentelwomen, not open before.

The *circotte* is a mourning garment, made like a close or strayte bodyed gowne, wore under a mantell.

That we may see the difference which arose from the change of religion, here followeth the order of the funerals of barons, knights, and esquires, as they were appointed to be done in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the former Popish mummary was abolished.

When a Lord or Baron is to be buried, he is to be carried as followeth:

First must go the poor men two and two, in black gownes; then two yeomen with staves and black gownes, as conductors; then a gentleman in a black gowne, bearinge a standard; then all his servants, two and two, in black gownes; then his penon; then his banner;

Then his helme and crest,

Then his targett,

Then his sworde,

Then his coate of armes,

} These 4 to be carried by four heraultes, wherof
the two last to be kinge of heraultes, and for
default, by esquiers or gentlemen.

After them followeth the preacher in a longe gowne; then the corps borne by fowre men in blacke coates (or gownes) and on each syde of the corpes two gentlemen, bearinge fower bannerfells, every of them one: after the corpes followeth the chefe mourner, in a blacke gowne, who must be an earle, or a baron, to go alone; after him followeth fower others, two and two, in black gownes, as assistants to the cheif mourner.

And in this order must he be brought to the church.

The

The place appointed for the corpes to stand must be rayled in, and covered with black clothe, and hanged full of scocheons of his armes; and the body beinge brought into the churche, must be set upon two treffels, and there to stand during the sermon.

The mourners must kneele next to the hearse, on stooles and kushions, and under their feet blacke cloth: the body once sett upon the treffells, coate, helme and crest, target and sword, must be set upon the hearse, during the sermon tyme; the guydon, standard, and other things, must be placed aboute the hearse, in the handes of the bearers. After sermon ended, all the foresaid thinges must be offered up, in the same order that they were carried; and the chiefe mourner must offer himself; and after him the assistants, 2 and 2, must followe, and offer up which the heraults bore before.

The foresaid offering so done, the body is to be buried; then his hearse is to be set up within a rayle, upon the grave, all covered with blacke clothe, and garnished with scocheons of his armes, and with pensells of filke, of the colour of his colouring, which must be his crest, or some principall badge of his armes.

Then over the grave must be hanged and sett up his standard, banner, banneralles, &c. and in the midst must be sett up his whole atchievement, viz. crest, helme, targett, sworde, and coate armour.

The churche also must be full of great scocheons, some of his single coat or armes; and these must be all black about the borders, some quarter'd, and some impalled with his wife's, if he have any; and of these the one side of his owne must be black, the other white.

Burial of a Knight.

A knight must in all thinges have as a baron, except his banner rolles.

The Esquier.

An esquier must have all things as a knight, saving standard, sword, and targett; all thinges else to be done in the same order.

And if any lord, baron, knight, or esquier, do die in the felde, in the service of the warres, then the trumpetter must go foremoste, sownding the dead sownde, and the bill-men, the pike-men, the hargebushiers, must go in their order, 2 and 2, the bill-men holding the heads of their weapons downe wards, the pike-men trayling their pikes, holding the points in their handes, and so the hargebushiers; and whilst the corpes is burieng, the whole noise of trumpetters must sownd fast by the buriall, and after them the drumsters must strike a dead sownde; and lastly, the hargebushiers must discharge their shott.

In

In the Church-Wardens of St. Helen's accounts, published by the Society of Antiquaries, we find frequent mention made of lights, and other expences, for "the monthes minde, the yeares minde, the two yeares minde," &c. as also of the "obits for deceased persons;" which were both of them *masses*, performed at different seasons, for the rest of the soul of the person for whom such ceremonies were done, the word *mind* itself signifying a *memorial* or *remembrance*: and in the same manner bishop Fisher has it, in his sermon intituled "A Monynge Remembraunce, had at the Monthes Wynd of the noble Princess Margarete, Countesse of Richmond and Darbye."

Archæolog.
Vol. I, c. 4,
pag. 11.

The *obits* were only the annual masses, which were performed in memory of the deceased, and for the rest of his departed soul. These masses may be seen in the Romish Missals, under the title of "*Missæ pro Defunctis*;" and the common expences of an obit, anno 1542, was 2s. 2d. disposed of as follows:—To the parish priest 4d.—to the charnel priest 3d.—the two clerks 4d. each;—to the children (*choristers*) 3d.—to the sexton and bellman each 2d.—two tapers, 2d. oblation 2d.—These masses continued to be said until the year 1559, when the expression of *month's mind* was changed to "*monthes monument*."

Vid. Fuller's
Hist. of
Waltham
Abbey, p. 14

At the funeral of Sir John Rudstone, mayor of London, ann. 1531, I find the following charges made:—

MS. in
Bib. Harl.
mark. 1231.

| Item, | £. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| To the priests at his enuelling | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| For massys | - | 11 | 0 |
| To poor folke in almys | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| 22 days to 6 poor folke | - | 2 | 0 |
| 26 dayes to 2 poor folke | - | - | 8 |
| Full payde at the bewryal | 1 | 15 | 9 |
| Paide Gararde Smythe for yerne worke about hys herse | - | 8 | 8 |
| To the carpynter for all thinges belongyng aboute the herse | - | 13 | 4 |
| Geven in pense (<i>pence</i>) to offer at the masse at his berynge | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| To the sexton, for knellyng of the bell at hys departyng | - | 3 | 4 |
| to Gode, and ryngyng | - | - | - |
| To the bedyll of the beggers, and hys 2 fellowes, for waytyng at the bewrying | - | 3 | 4 |
| To 9 priestes, for massys | - | 3 | 0 |
| To the clerkes at syngyng masse of the Holy Goste, for their brekfast | - | 1 | 0 |
| Paide to Carlyle the heraulde, for that is hys dewe by hys byll | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Payde to Hethe the paynter, and hys felowe, for all thynges belongyng to the enterement | 18 | 0 | 0 |

Yet afterwards it is added,

| | | | |
|---|---|----|---|
| Payde more to Hethe for skowcheons | - | 15 | 8 |
| Payde the waferer for wafers at the buryall | - | 6 | 0 |
| Payde for the wyndyng shettes | - | 2 | 8 |

Some time before we are told that "*Sysley's wyndyng sheit*" (*the maiden who died there*) cost 1s. 0d. Hence we may see the difference paid to the knight himself.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|-----|
| Payde to Elynor for frankensens, to be burned at the place | - | 2 | 0 |
| To Goodmane Dowres for wrytyng of the wylle | — | 13 | 4 |
| The herse itself was most richly lighted up with wax, and a great number of tapers must have been consumed, for the wax-chandler's bill amounts to | — | 25 | 0 0 |
| For yerbys at the bewryal | — | 1 | 0 |
| Payde the priestes for beyng there at the bewryal | — | 10 | 0 |
| Payde for 50 elles of bokerame for the feryng clothe | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Hereafter followeth the costes and charges done at the mownethys mynde, begynnyng the 19 daye of September:

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| Payde to the priests and clarkes at the monthes mynde, and to the torch berers, and offrynge at masse, &c. | 1 | 12 | 9 |
| Payde the herbe wyfe for herbes | — | 0 | 3 |
| Payde to prests and clarkes, for dryge and masse, from the daye of buryall to the daye of the mownethes mynde | 4 | 19 | 4 |
| Payde more to the prestes and clarkes, in a rewarde for the massys sayde in the mownethes mynde | — | 7 | 8 |
| Payde to 8 preistes, clarkes of St. Mychelles, for the masse at the burynge, and masse at the mownythes mynde | — | 7 | 0 |
| Lights were also here expended; the wax-chandler's bill is | 1 | 8 | 0 |

Besides all this, there was also a great banquet prepared for the friends, at the month's mind; for I find the entries of monies paid to the cooks, butlers, broche (*or spit*) turners, &c. and "payde to Thorowgoode the kerver, at the monthes mynde, 1s. 8d.

Though the general mourning colour was black, yet the kings, and even sometimes the great noblemen, have deviated from this rule. Henry the Eighth (says Hall) wore white for mournynge, at the deathe of Ann of Bolen.—At the above buryng I find that "*blacke pewke*" was the only mourning cloth, the best at 8s. 6d. the yard, and that made use of in the servants gowns, &c. at only 4s. 8d. the yard. The hearse, the forms, and also the rooms of the knight's house, were hung with black frieze, which cost 6½d. the yard.

In an old MS. on yellum, preserved in the Cotton Library, on one of the leaves is the following entry, which was most probably made at the time the things therein mentioned were performed; it runs thus:

In this cedula be conteyned the charges and observaunces appointed by the noble prince Humfrey, late duke of Gloucester, to be perpetually boren by thabbot and convent of the monasterie of Seint Albans.

First, Thabbot and convent of the seid monasterie have payd for makynge of the tumber and place of sepulture of the said duke, within the said monastrie, above the sume of 433l. 6s. 8d.—Item, To monks priests, dayly seynge masse at the auter of sepulture of the seid prince, everich of them takynge 6d. summe therby.

Hall's Union
in Vit.
Hen. 8.
fol. 228.

MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd
Claudius,
A. VIII.

therby the hole yere is 18*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*—*Item*, To the abbot ther yerly, the daye of the auniversary of the seid prince, attendyng hys exequyes ther, 40 shillings.—To the priour ther yerly, the same daye, in lykewyse attendyng, 20 shillings.—*Item*, To 40 monks priestes yerly, to everych of them the same daye, 6*s.* 8*d.* sum therof 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—*Item*, To 8 monks, not priests, yerly the seid day, to everych of them 3*s.* 4*d.* sum therof 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—*Item*, To two ankereffes, 1 at St. Peter's chirch, another at Seint Michael's, the said day, yerely, to everych one 20*d.* sum 3*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, To money to be distributed to pore peple ther, the seid day, yerly, 11*s.* 0*d.*—*Item*, To 13 pore men, beryng torches the seid day aboute the place of sepulture, 2*s.* 2*d.*—*Item*, For wax brennyng dayly at his messes, and his seid auniversary, and of torches yerly, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, To the kechen of the convent ther yerly, in relief of the gret decay of livelode of the seid mouasterie, in the marches of Scotland, which byfore tyme hath be appointed to the seid kechyn, 60*l.*

At the end of a MS. in my own possession, I find some regulations relative to the chusing the church-warden for "St. Stephen's Chirche in Colman Street," which, by the hand, appears to have been written early in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and at the end the following orders:—

MS. penes
Author.

Statute for Belles and Pitts (or Graves).

We will that for every pitt that is made in owre Ladies chapell, for mane, womane, or childe, pay to the chirche werks 10*s.* and for every pitt in the body of the chirche, 6*s.* 8*d.* to the said werkes.

Also as it happeth oftene tymes that ther falleth discencione, and debates, betwene the parishens and the parish clerkes, for ryngyng of knyelles and pitt making: therefor we will that what man, or woman, that wille have the great belle rong for a knyll, shall pay to the chirche wardeyns 4*s.* whereof the clerks to have for the ryngyng 12*d.*—and the profites of knyelles of alle the other 4 belles to be to the use and profite of the clerkes; that is to sey, for the secunde belle 2*s.* for the thirde belle 12*d.* for the fourthe 8*d.* and for the fyfth belle 4*d.*—And also yf any mane, or woman, wylle have alle the belles ronge at dirige, and at masse, at the burying of any persone, monthes minde, or yerres mynde, shall pay to the clerkes 2*s.*—Also the clerkes shall have for every pitt that is made in the chirche yard, for mane or womane that is howselede (*perhaps householder*) 8*d.* and for every childe the pitte making 4*d.*—also for every pitte made in the body of the chirche, for mane, womane, or childe, 2*s.*—and for every pit made in the chancell, or oure ladyes chapell, 3*s.* 4*d.*

The following is another memorandum, of the same sort with the foregoing, made "the 25 of November, the yere of our Lorde Gode 1526, the 17 yere of Hen. 8th, by the church wardens for the parish of Wolchurcb," settling the prices for ringyng the bells and making of graves.

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2252.

Fyrste, for the leste belle to ryng the space of one ower, for man, woman or chylde, 0*s.* 4*d.*—*Item*, the secunde belle to ryng one ower, 0*s.* 6*d.*—*Item*, the

thyrde belle to ryng on ower, *os. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the thyrde to ryng 6 owrys before none, or after none, with the three smallyste belles to ryng at dyryge and masse, to pay *3s. 4d.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the fourthe belle to ryng 6 owrys before none, or after none, with the four smalleste belles at dyryge and masse, to paye *5s. 0d.*—*Item*, Whate persone wyll have the 5th bell, whyche is the greatest bell, to ryng 6 owrys by fore none, or after none, wyth alle the belles to ryng at dyryge and masse, shall paye *6s. 8d.* and the sextone to have for the same greate bell, fyndyng all the ryngers, *6s. 8d.*—*Item*, The sextone to fynde the roope for the same, and also the bawdrycks for the same bell, at hys owen coste and charge. Also hyt ys agreed the same tyme, the clarke have all the vauntage of the 4 belles, and he to fynde both bawdryckes and ropes for the 4 seyde belles.—*Item*, The clerk to have all the vauntage to hymefelse of rynginge of the belles, for yerely obytes, and yerely myndes.—*Item*, The clerke to have for tollynge of the passyng belle, for manne, womanne, or childe, if it be in the day, *os. 4d.*—*Item*, if it be in the night, for the same *os. 8d.*—*Item*, What persone that shal be beryed in any of the 2 syde chappelles, on the syde of the quere, that is to sey our Lady chapell, and St. Nicholas chapell, schall paye for brekyng of the grownde ther, to the behafe of the chyrche, *2l. os. 0d.*—*Item*, for makynge of the pytte, withinne the 2 seyde chapells, to the behafe of the clerke, *ol. 2s. 0d.*—*Item*, What persone that shal be beryede yn the bodye of the chyrche, undyr the rode lofte, for man or woman *ol. 10s. 0d.*—*Item*, for makynge of the pytte there, to the behofe of the clerke, *ol. 1s. 4d.*—*Item*, For the beryng of a chylde there, to the chyrch *ol. 5s. 0d.*—*Item*, for the makynge of a pytte there for a chylde, to the clerke *ol. os. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate persone, mane or womane, that shal be beryed in the bodye of the chyrche, and in the ylys, and under the belfreys, shall paye to the behofe of the chyrche *6s. 8d.*—*tem*, to the clerke, for makynge of the pytte in any side of the forseyde places, *1s. 0d.*—*Item*, Whate chylde that shal be beryed in the bodye of the chyrche, downe to the west ende of the same, to pay *3s. 4d.*—*Item*, to the clerke for makynge of the pytte, in any of the forseyde places, for a chylde, *os. 8d.*—*Item*, Whate mane or womane shall be beryed in the chyrche yarde, to paye to the clerke for makynge of the pytte there, *os. 6d.*—*Item*, For the beryng place of a chylde, in the chyrche yarde, *os. 4d.*

RELIGION.

V. 2. p. 110. In the second volume we have already spoken shortly upon this subject, and but shortly, for indeed the blindness and error which prevailed in the former ages, while the dark clouds of superstition obscured the minds of mankind, (during the continuance of the Romish religion) as also the glorious Reformation, compleated by king Henry the Eighth, and his daughter Elizabeth (notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the blood-thirsty prelates, during the short but cruel reign of Mary) are such familiar subjects, that few, if any, are so unlearned in the English history, as to be ignorant of them.

The

The fallacy and deceit of the monks, and their abominable and detestable practices, under the veil of religious piety, has been sufficiently exposed to the public view: However exaggerated the lascivious account, contain'd in the poem from whence the following short quotation is taken, may appear, yet perhaps the author had but too much reason for his assertions. Let the reader reflect, that when the mask was pluck'd away (I mean at the dissolution of the monasteries) there was such a scene of wickedness, villainy, and beastliness, discovered, that even the greatest advocates for those devouring wolves must shudder with horror at the relation thereof, and cry out, "they were devils, and not men!"

The author of the subsequent verses describes a "Londilote Cockayne," which he extolls with the most extravagant praises; and speaking also of the luxurious living of the religious votaries, he crowns the whole with these lines:—

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark'd 913.

When the Somer is dai is hote, - - - - - The yung nunnes takith a bote,
And doth ham forth in that ribet, - - - - - Both with ois (oars) and with stere (rudder);
When hi beth fur from the abbei, - - - - - Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,
And lepith dune (down) into the bymme, - & doth ham steilich (styly or craftily) for to swimme,
The yung monkeths (monks) that hi seeth, Hi doth han up, and forth hi fleeth,
And commith to the nunnes anon, - - - - - And euch monke him taketh on;
A-snellich (quickly) byth forth hat prei, - To the mocht (great) grei (grey) abbei:
And techith the nunnes an oreisun, - - - - - With samblebe (gambols) up a dun:
The monke that wol be stalun gode, - - - - - A-kan set aight his hode,
He schal hab, with oute danger, - - - - - Twelwe wyves evich yer.

These verses, which are at least as old as the beginning of the 14th century, may serve to show us, that even at a time when few were to be found hardy enough to deny or oppose the monkish authority, their doctrines, and the devices of their agents, yet now and then a champion, arm'd with the truth, would start up, and boldly cry their shame to the world.

The author also of the visions of Pierce the Plowman, has been very severe against the priests, and shewed their horrid ignorance;* and even Chaucer, in various places, exposes them.—But of all other, the lustful debaucheries, which were the consequences of the holy pilgrimages, were shocking to the last degree.

Hermetts on a heape, with hoked staves,
Wenten to Walsingham, & ther wenches after.

Pierce the
Plow. Vision
Passus Prima.

In

* In the poem called Pierce Plowman's Crede, the author feigns himself ignorant of his creed, and applies himself to the friars for instruction; but they all are unable to give him satisfaction, till Pierce, the poor plowman, resolves his doubts.—The ignorance of the people is evident from the following lines of the Vision:

I cannot perfitli mi pater noster as the priest singeth;
But I can rimes of Robinhod & Randall of Chester;
But of our Lorde & Ladie-kyne nothing at all.

In this rout the women freely gave themselves up to the will of their loving male companions; as they thought that, on their arrival at the shrine of the saint, all their crimes would be forgiven, they scrupled not in the least, by indulging their sensul appetites, to heap the measure of their sins top full.— Yet let us not be too hasty, and for the sake of some wicked and abandoned people, condemn the whole of mankind: no, surely there were amongst them, of all classes, many good and pious persons, who really were what they professed themselves to be, and strove, not only by their good instructions, but also by their virtuous lives, to reform the age.

Having premised thus much on this subject, I shall now proceed to set before the reader certain ceremonies which were done in the ancient church, and the reasons therefore assigned in the old Legends and Homilies. Now passing over those of no great consequence, we will confine ourselves to such as regard the chief Sundays and holidays; and first of all

MS. in the
Harl. Lib.
mark. 2371.
See also
MS. in the
Cotton Lib.
mark'd
Claudius
A. 2.

Palm Sunday.—The author telling us of Christ's procession to Jerusalem, with the people's cutting down branches of trees, &c. adds "wherfor holi chirche this daye makith solempne procession, in mynde of the processyon that Cryst made this dey: but for encheson (*reason*) that wee hav noone olyve that bearith greene leves, therefore we taken palme, and geven instede of olyve, and bear it about in processione: so is this daye called Palme Sunday: and as they songen, and did worshap Crist in his processione, there is with us kneelyng to the crosse, in worshap and mynde of hym that was doon upon the cross; and we welcome hym into the churche, with songe, as they welcomed hym into the citee of Jerusalem."—And again, he tells us that it is also called Palm Sunday, inas-much as the palm betokeneth the victory which he (*Christ*) gained over the money-changers, &c. in the Temple; wherefore, says he, "every Crysten manne shulde this daye bere palmes in procession, in tokenyng that he hath foughten with the fende, and hath victory of him, by cleene shrift of mouthe (i. e. *confession*) repentaunce of hert, and mekely dooing hys penaunce."

Three days before Easter.—"You shall welle knowe, that holy chirch usith theise three daies to say service in the evene tyde, in the derknesse; wherefore it is callid with you *Tenebris*, that is *darkness*."—And for this custom he assigns three "*skilles*," or reasons: the first is, because Christ prayed by night in the garden, on mount Olivet; the second is, for that Judas betrayed Christ by midnight; and the last is, because that, at his crucifixion, the sun and moon were eclipsed.

Thursday before Easter.—"Shyre Thursday, oure Lord soppore day. It is callid in the Ynglish tonge *Shire Thursdaze*; for in old fadir's daies, meene wolde make thaim that day, to shere thaim, and combed thaire heedis, and clipped thaire berdis, and so make thaim honest agenste Esterne daye; for on the morrowe they wolde doon thaire bodies noon ease, but suffer pennaunce, in mynde of him that sufferid so hard for them; and on Saturdaze, be besye to thaire service."

Among many various ceremonies, I find that they had one called "The Font Hallowing," which was performed on Easter even, and Whitsunday eve; and says the author, "in the begynnyng of holy chirch, all the children weren kept to be crystened on thys even, at the font hallowyng; but now, for enchesone

enchesone that in so long abydyng they might dye without crystendome, therefore holi churche ordeyneth to crysten at all the tymes of the yeere, save 8 daies before these evenys, the chylde shalle abyde till the font hallowing, if it may savely for perrill of deth, and ells not."

I omit the ceremony of setting up on Easter eve a chief taper, which represents Christ, the chief of the church, and is called the *pascall*; it also represents the pillar of light which went before the children of Israel, &c. with various other things of like consequence.

Good Friday, or rather God's Friday; because this day holy men were reconciled to God.

Easter Day.—"This daye is callid in som place *Goddess Sondag*. Yee wete well that yn ych place it is the maner this daye to doo the fyre out of the hall, and the herth stone, that hath been the wynter browne, and blacke with the smoke, it shall be this daye arayed with greene rushis, and strewyd with flowris all aboute; shewing a high example to all menne and womenne, that right as they make cleene thaire houses, bering out their fyre, and strewe it with flowres all about, right so shall yee clense the home of youre soule, and do awaye the fyre of lecherye, and dedly wrath, and envye, and strewe the herbys and floures of virtues and goodnesse."

The author particularly recommends to all people to come to the church on the three days following Easter day, their children, servants and all; for, says he, "we have great cause to fast, and pray also, theise 3 daies, to all the saynts of heven, for to help us in oure neede; and for wee syne many tymes in the yeare agenst the will of God, therefor these 3 dayes we shall fast, and praye to God to put awaye the powre of the fende, and seeke to be holpen of divers mischeeves and perills that fallen, namely in this tyme of the yere: for now thundir is often herd, and thanne, as *Lincolniens (bischop Groshead)* seith, fendis that flateren in the eyer bene so fore a ferde of the breste of thundir that Cryst coome with to hell gates, that yett they been so agast whanne they heere thundir, that they fall downe into the erth, and from whance they go not up agayne till they have done some wikked deedes; thanne they areyle weddys; than they make tempest in the sea, and drowne shippes, and maketh debate between neighbours, and manne slaughter; and they send fyre, and brennen houses, and steplis, and trees; they make womenne to overleye their children, and they make menne to sleigh thaimself in *wain hope*; and many other curfid misdeedes. Thus for to put away all suche curfid deedis, holy chyrche ordeyneth every manne to fast theise three daies, and to goon in procession, to have helpe of saynts of Heven; wherfor in procession bellis been rongen, and baners been shewed, the crosse cometh astir."

That the bells should be rung in such processions was very natural, for in the Romish church the bells were not only bless'd and exorcis'd, but also baptized, and anointed with the holy oil:* after which ceremonies passed, it was verily believed that they had (being rung) the power to overcome the dæmons of the air;

Weaver's
Fun. Mon.
pag. 122.

* The whole ceremony of baptizing bells, as practised in the modern Roman Catholic countries, may be seen in Sir Henry Chauncy's *History of Hertfordshire*, page 383.

air, and put them to sudden flight.—The use of bells in the ancient churches is comprehended in these two Latin rhimes :

*Laudo Deum verum,—plebem voco,—congrego clerum,
Defunctos plero,—pestem fugo,—festa decoro.*

Spel. Gloss. Bells were first invented by *Paulinus*, bishop of *Nola*, a city of *Campania*,
verb. Cam- about the year of our Lord 400. They were used in Brittany (as Bede informs
pania, fol. 98 us) Ann. Dom. 680; and Ingulphus reports that bells were in high repute long
Bede Ecc. before his time, for, says he, “Turkettullus, the first abbot of Croyland, who
Hist. Lib. 4 died 875, gave six bells to that monastery, viz. two great ones, which he sur-
cap 23. nam’d *Bartholomew* and *Bettelme*; two middle bells, which he called *Turketulum*
Ingulphus, and *Betwine*; and two small bells, which he termed *Pega* and *Bega*: and he
pag. 889. caused the greatest bell, called *Gudlac*, to be made, which tuned to the other
bells, and made an admirable harmony, so that the like was not in England.”

But however, the bells made mention of in the legend above, seem to be the small bells which were carried in the hands, by the priests who accompanied the procession, ringing them as they went; notwithstanding the larger bells, in the steeples, might be, and most likely were, also then rung.—But to go on from the Legends :

MS. ut supr. *Whit-Sunday*.—“Goode menne, yee knowe well that this daye is called *Whitt-Sonday*, for encheson that the Holigoeft as this day broughte *witt* and *wisdom* to Cryst’s disciples.”

In the homily for *Trinity Sunday* I find the following account of the Trinity:—“The fourme of the Trinite was founden in manne, that was Adam oure forefadir, of Erth oon persone, and Eve of Adam the secunde persone; and of them both was the third persone: this Trinite was first founden in manne, by worshipping of such high Trenite, wherfore manne shoulde have mynde on the Trenity which holie chirch ordeyneth; that in weddinge manne and womanne, the masse of the Holy Trinite is songe; and at the deth of a manne three bellis shulde be ronge, as his knyll, in worscheppe of the Trenetee; and for a womanne, who was the secunde persone of the Trenite, two bellis shulde be rongen.”

Fest. Metro. *Christmas*.—As this was the greatest feast amongst the Christians, the homily
or the Birth for the day informs us, that “holy chirche makith melodye and myrth, in
of Christ. mynde of the bleffid birth of our Lord Jhesu Christ.”—The western church
called it *Dies Nativitatis*, by way of eminency and dignity; and secondly *Luminaria*, either because they used many lights, or rather because Christ, the true light of the world, came then upon the earth.—But yet there has been, from time to time, many disputes concerning the ancient ceremonies on this day, which are by some held unlawful, such as decking the churches out with green things, as bays, rosemary, holly, ivy, and the like, with various other customs, some of which are now unknown. The reason assigned for it by the advocates is, that by these plants, which are ever green, they mean “to signifye and put us in minde of his (Christ’s) deity, that the child that nowe was borne, who was god and man, should spring up like a tender plant, should alwaye be green and flourishing, and live for evermore; therefore thus the spouse entertains her beloved, whose bed is always green. But, on the other hand, the disputants

disputants urge that the keeping of this festival came from the Romans, who Christmas, about this time held a great festival in honour of Saturn and Ceres, called *Saturnalia*. [Saturn first found out the art of grafting fruit trees, and husbandry, in *Latium*, part of Italy, and was the first who taught it in Europe.]—If it is true that the feast of Christmas had from hence its origin, the carrying about and setting up of green boughs, &c. is then so naturally accounted for, that it needs no comment. a pamphlet, pub. 1651.

From thence also (add they) come the abuses of this feast, the drinking, the wassailling, the masks, mummeries, &c. &c. This feast was anciently called *Yule*, *ἔλος*, and *ἱέλος*, as with the heathens; and the mad, riotous, prophane plays and sports in Christmas time, *Yule games*, and *Christmas karolls*, sung in praise of *Christ*, as the heathens did hymn *ἱέλος* in honour of the idol *Keres*, that is Ceres, goddess of corn.

ἔλος ἱέλος was so named because of the sheaf then offered to *Ceres*, and the hymn sung in honour of her. These words are used both for a sheaf and that hymn.

The first of January, commonly called *New-Year's Day*, a part also of our Christmas, was formerly dedicated to the honour of Janus. In ibid. MS. ut supra.

May-Day.—The 1st of *May* was consecrated and kept in honour of the goddess *Flora*. They (the Romans) used to bring laurel, green boughs, and branches of trees and flowers, with singing and rejoicing, and adorn their doors and houses. This custom, which the christians continued, was condemned by the council of Toledo, on account of its origin, and by pope Martin, as also by many other good writers: yet it was constantly continued in England, as we have already seen. Vide Vol. 2, pag. 99.

Innocent's Day.—December 28th was consecrated and kept festival in honour of the idol god *Quirinus*; the feast as is by them (the Romans) called *Quirinalia*.

Candlemas Day.—When the author of the above-mentioned homilies speaks of the Virgin Mary's coming to the Temple, he says that Simeon and Anna met her at the door, and conducted her in: in memory hereof, it was customary for a woman who came to be churched, to tarry at the door till the priest came, and cast holy water upon her, and cleanse her; then he taketh her into the church, and gives her permission to return again to her husband's bed. Also, continues he, "holy churche makith mynde of candeles offringe: ye se that it is a comon use to come to the churche that daye, and to bere a candill in proceffion, as though they went bodily to the churche with our ladye, and offer it in worship to hir."—He then proceeds to tell us from whence this custom sprang; "In old times (says he) the Romans, who were heathens, worshipping many strange gods, had amongst the rest one named *Mars*, whose mother was named *Februa*; after whiche wommane (says he) many are of opinion that this month of *February* was so called:" and on the first day of this month they used, in worship of this goddess, to go all about the city with torches and candells burning; and this they did the more especially, that by her means they might have the help of *Mars*, her son, who was the god of war. "Thanne (adds he) was a pope, that was callid *Serquis*; and for that he sawgh that theise cristen menne drough to this mawmentrye, he thought to fordoo this foule custume, and turne it into Goddes worshpepp, and oure ladies Saynt Marye, and commaunded all cristen

menne and womenne to come to the chirch, and ych of them offer up a candell in the worshipp of our Lady."

Vide Vol. 2,
pag. 98.

Although in the account of the origin of wakes, in the second volume, I have quoted in part the following prelude to the legendary homily for the even of St. John the Baptist's day; yet, as it is not there so full, and does not so well explain the particular ceremonies, nor mention the alterations therein made, I beg leave to transcribe it again from a more perfect original. It is as follows:—"In the begynnyng of holy chirch, menne and womenne ovir nyght coome with candellis and other lightes, and waked all night in thaire praiers and devociions. But after, by proceffe of tyme, menne lost such devociions, and used songs and daunces, and fellen in to leacherye and glotonye, and turned the good holy devociions into synnes; wherfore holy fadirs made the pepill to leve that waking, and to fast the evyn, and so turned the waking into fastinge: but yitt it holdeth as is callid in Latyn, *Vigilia*, that is a *wakyng* in English; and it is callid the *evyn*, for at evyn they were wont to come to chirch. But in worshipp of St. John menne wake yitt at home, and makyn 3 maner of fyres: oone is clene bonys, and no woode, and that is clepid a boonefire; another is cleene wode, and no bones, and that is clepid a wode fyre, for men syttin and waken therby; the thirde is made of boones and wode, and is callyd St. John's fyre."—The first fire hath this superstitious reason assigned, that in the country where St. John was martyred the air was hot, and the country infested with dragons, which are thereby driven away; and in England they supposed that all manner of evil spirits were by the same means put to flight. The second, of wood, was to burn and lighten around, as St. John was a lantern, burning and lighting men; they also made great blazes of fire, that might be seen afar off, in token of St. John's being seen in the spirit by Jeremiah, who prophesied of him long before he was born. The third fire, of wood and bones, betokeneth the martyrdom of the holy faint, whose bones were burnt (says the author) by Julian the apostate, long after his death.

Bede Ecc.
Hist. Lib. 1
cap. 30.

Concerning the former part of this old custom, is this mention made in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, where we find the English were permitted—"Die dedicationis vel natalitiis sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutata sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, & religiosis conviviis solemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei esse suo animalia occidant, & donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant, ut dum eis aliaqua exterius gaudia resurgantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere impossibile esse non dubium est."—This is a letter from pope Gregory to Melitus, a British abbot; and from hence it appears that these kind of wakings and sacrifices were of much more ancient date than christianity. Indeed, from several of the above quotations, we find that these ceremonies, many of them, are the remaining traces of idolatry and heathenism, though now (say the Homilies) turn'd to the honour of God. It is true, that it might be impossible for the ancient fathers to divert the minds of the late converted people, at once, from all their bigotry and errors; therefore what they could not absolutely hinder, such they however changed, and made the people

people acknowledge that all those ceremonies were done to honour the true God alone.

Embir Dayes.—"By th' oppinion of many menne, theise been callid Ymber MS. ut supra Daies, for enchesonne that oure olde fadirs wolde ete theise daies kakes that weren baken undir ashes, in ymbris, that was callid *panis subcinericeus*, that is, brede bakyn undir ashis; so that, in etyng of that brede, they reducid to thaire mynde that they wern but asshes."

All-Hallowen Daye.—"Whanne Romanes weren lordes of all the worlde, they made a tempull in Rome, rounde as a dowve hous, and callid it Pantheon; and thanne they set in the middle of the tempill an ymage, that was the chief mawment of all Rome; and thanne of ych londe of the worlde a other ymage, rounde about by the wallis, and the name of the londe that ymage was of, wryten the feet of the ymage; and all they within made so by nigromacie, that whanne any londe turned from themproure, anoone the ymage of londe woulde turne his face to the wall, and his back to the ymage of Rome; and whan the byshoppis came to the tempill, and saw an ymage turnid, they wolde looke what londe it were of, and annoone tell themproure, and he woulde thanne sende thider a great hooft, and sette them at rest: and thus durid thys tempill, till *Boniface* the Fourthe came; thanne he went to themproure that was callyd *Tocca*, and praied hym that he woulde geve hym the tempill, that he might put out the multitude of inawments, and hallowe it in the honore of our Ladye, and of all hallowe, and so he dyd: and there came an othir pope, callid *Gregorye*, and he ordeyned this daye to be hallowyd, and so was this feest bi-gonne. This feest also was by the pope ordeyned to fulfill oure omiffions for many a faynt's day in the yeere we leve unserved; for there been so many that we may not serve them all; for as St. Jerome saith, ych daye of the yere, been moothanne 5 thousande sayntes and marters, out tak the forst day of January."

All Souls Day—So called, because on this day masses were said for all the souls of men in purgatory, who had need of prayers.

Add to these the ceremonies of *Valentine's day*, which, in some sort, remain to the present time. Of this custom John Lidgate makes this mention, in a MS. in the poem written by him in praise of queen Catherine, consort to Henry the Fifth: Harl. Lib. mark. 2251.

Seynte Valentyne, of custon yeeze by yeeze,
Men have an usaunce in this regioun
To loke & seche Cupides Kalendere,
And chose theyr choyse, by grete affectioun;
Suche as ben pike with Cupides morioun,
Takyng theyre choyse as theyr toyt doth falle:
But I love oon whiche exellith alle.

Agreeable to the superstition, which till of late prevailed, was the belief of the appearance and power of dæmons, spectres, fairies, and the like; as also the various nonsensical ceremonies performed by the lower class of people, that they might, by preternatural means, see and know their sweethearts and spouses:

—as on *Midsummer-day*, at night, to run three times round the church, and sow hemp seed as they ran, saying the following verses:

Hemp seed I sow,—let hemp seed grow;
He that will my sweetheart be, come after me and mow.

When it was pretended that the shadow or appearance of the man for them destined would of a certainty follow, with a scythe, as if he were mowing.

Again, they would sit up by the fire side, and hang a shift near to the fire; and as the church clock strikes twelve, the good man should surely come and turn the shift.

To such effect was the dumb cake, so called because it was to be made without speaking; and afterwards the parties were to go backwards up the stairs to bed, and put the cake under their pillow, and then they should dream of their loves.

Also writing their names on a paper at twelve o'clock, burning the same, then carefully gathering up the ashes, and laying them close wrapp'd in a paper upon a looking-glass, mark'd with a cross, under their pillows; and this should have the same effect with the former.

Another, for a different purpose, was for young people to go and sit in the church porch, till the clock should strike twelve, when they should see all those who should die that year pass by them, and enter the church.

But let these suffice; for it would be endless to pursue, and set down, all the foolish pranks of this superstitious sort, which were often put in practice; and especially as now most people are well convinced of the ridiculousness of them; for the belief of strange and uncommon appearances has lately so much lost ground, that though, indeed even now, there are some who have heard knockings and noises which they have not been able to account for, yet I meet with none who have themselves seen a ghost, but many whose acquaintances, mothers, aunts, or the like (and whose veracity may be depended upon) have really and actually seen these airy beings: yet, in my younger days, I have heard several affirm that they themselves had seen them, and trusted not to the stories of others, —Since these accounts are already come to the second hands, they will most likely very shortly be no more remembered, but with contempt and ridicule.

A short Account of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Design in England.

If, in the former ages, the English could not boast of the elegance and beauty of their designs, yet those their delineations, as rude as they may be, are extremely valuable, as well as curious, for they present to us a picture of the ancient times, by far more perfect than we could elsewhere have found; many obsolete customs and ceremonies are in them preserv'd and clear'd up, which, but for them, had yet remained in obscurity, nay been buried in oblivion. On
this

this score they merit every degree of respect, and become desirable to all who would explore the manners and the genius of their ancestors: a proper attention paid to them leads us gradually back; and we seem to behold their very thoughts unveiled.—But in the next place it may not be improper to examine their real merit as designs, as they are the only proofs now left of the state of that art in those early periods.

To begin then with the Britons themselves; who possessed some notions, though very slight ones, of design; I mean not respecting the rude forms of animals and the like, said to have been by them made upon their naked bodies,—but the figures of their gods, which, according to Gildas (who was himself a Briton) were yet even in his time existing, trac'd out and painted upon the walls of their cities, and were (as he assures us) most wretchedly ugly and deformed.

Passing on to the Saxon æra, we find that one Benedict, a Saxon monk, travelled to Rome, and after tarrying there some time, returned with Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, somewhere about the year 668, and with him came various artists, as glaziers, *painters*, and the like: but not till about forty years from that period, or perhaps rather earlier, do we meet with any specimen of their delineations, when the first that appear are the four Evangelists (plates XXIII. XXIV. XXV. and XXVI. of this vol.) which are found prefix'd to the holy gospels.

Vid. Vol. 2.
P. 33 & 34.

These were, very early in the beginning of the eighth century, drawn by the hand of Bilfrith, a celebrated Anchorite. Over the head of each Evangelist is represented the symbolical animal ascribed to him by the prophet Ezekiel, with its name written over it, as *Imago Hominis*, *Imago Leonis*, *Imago Vituli*, *Imago Aquilæ*, the image of a man, a lion, a calf, and an eagle: the other characters upon the plates are the names of the Evangelists, with the Greek word *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ*, or saint, prefix'd thereto, as *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Ματθευς*, *Μαρκυς*, *Λουκας*, *Ιωαννης*.—In these rude and ancient delineations, we find no great idea of grace, nor the least mark of genius: besides the evident disproportion, (as every figure, did he stand up, would be considerably too tall) the drapery is very stiff and unnatural, and the perspective of the stools or chairs which they sit upon extremely deficient; yet, on the whole, these designs are not absolutely devoid of merit, especially if they are considered (as surely they ought to be) as the first dawning of the art amongst our Saxon fires.

See the Account of the MSS. at the End of this Volume.
Ezekiel, ch. i. ver. 10.

From hence go we a step higher, and examine the variety of ancient designs given on the first volume, beginning with plate IV. and continuing to XIX;—and here we shall find that no great improvement in the finishing part has been made, or the proportion in general much mended; yet at least the draperies are better disposed, and some faint ideas of taste and gracefulness are discoverable:—for instance, the figure of the woman, N^o. 5, plate XIII. and several other not inelegant outlines, as the soldier, N^o. 3, plate IV. and the two figures at the altar, N^o. 4, plate XV.—It must be confess'd that the outlines (generally speaking) are better than those which are higher finished; but this might arise from their being done by a better artist. I myself can look over these slight sketches with infinite pleasure; and though I am sensible how much better they might be made, yet I can easily discover therein the marks of an original genius, labouring under a vast disadvantage, namely, the want of proper cultivation.

The

The best finish'd delineation of the Saxons that I have met with, is that of Edgar, copied in the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, plate 1. The angels there represented are extremely well done; the figure of Christ, together with that of the Saint on the right hand, are far from being inelegant or disproportionate, and the draperies throughout the whole are well disposed. This was done as early as the year 966, as may appear from the date of the MS. in which it is contained; and the reason why this delineation has so much the mastery over not only the foregoing designs, but also over those immediately subsequent, is this, — During the reign of Edgar, the troubled kingdom enjoy'd some little space of peace and tranquillity; in this sunshine, the tender art, like a young plant, began to shoot forth its branches; but the boisterous Danes returning, soon began afresh their destructive ravages, which nipp'd the tender bud, and then again it withered — The rude proportion'd figures that succeeded may be seen N^o. 1 and 2, plate XXVI. and 1, 2, and 3, plate XXVII. and these should seem to be the works of the Danes themselves, for these delineations are found in a book which belonged to king Cnute, himself a Dane. And yet we may see, as it were, the very struggles of the art under those inauspicious years, for we find them again improving at the latter end of Cnute's reign, which is evinc'd from the figures mark'd N^o. 4, plate XXVII. for these are much better proportion'd, and much more graceful, than the preceding.

Vide Vol. I,
pag. 106.

From hence we find, as it were, a large chasm in the annals of design; for the wars and tumults, together with the rigour of the Norman William, reach'd even the peaceful solitude of the monks, and so disturbed them, that other thoughts than those of improving the art of design employed their whole attention; and till the reign of Stephen we meet with nothing of consequence, when one *Eadwine*, a monk, took great pains to ornament a large folio Psalter. — Some of the figures extracted from that MS. are exhibited on the plates XXXI. XXXII. and XXXIII. of the first volume; but they are so small, and so incorrect, that they can by no means vie with those of the Saxons, heretofore described. The same incorrectness attends the large portrait of this monk, which he has subjoined to the book; and it is engraved on a plate of the same size, by the Antiquarian Society.

The next delineation which we meet with is that of John Wallingford, (plate XXXIV. vol. I.) This was most likely either done by himself, or some other for him, at the time he finished his *Chronicle*, to which it is prefix'd; and the reason for this supposition is, that the hand-writing beneath it is the same with the *Chronicle*, and that is manifestly as ancient as the time he lived in, the latter end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, for he died Ann. Dom. 1213. This figure is extremely well done, the proportion is very just, and the drapery is disposed with great taste. — After him succeeded a very accurate and ingenious designer, as well as a great and faithful historian, *Matthew Paris*. The first volume of this work abounds with his designs, some of which sketches (for they are no more) are so well done, that many artists of the present age need not be ashamed to own them: as for instance, the king delivering a letter to the herald, plate LI. the two figures of the queen, LXI. I only mention these amongst a vast variety of others, which bear the true marks of taste

taste and genius. Not only the tracings of elegance, which is discoverable in these valuable outlines, is to be admired; we ought also to regard the feeling manner in which the stories are told by the designer: but, lest I should trespass too much upon the reader's time, I shall only notice one, namely, No. I. plate XXXIX. which pictures out the burial of, and mourning for, the dead, slain in battle, represented in the preceding plate. Here are the widows, the children, the parents, paying the last sad offices of respect to their departed relations; amongst the which we see the father bemoaning the loss of his son, whose head he has found severed from the bloody corpse; he catches it up in frantic transport, and presses to his lips the well-known visage. In the other compartment are the inconsolable relations, one rending his hair, whilst another is lamenting her loss in sad though silent grief; and the third, who appears to be the friend, is endeavouring to comfort, and lead them from the dismal scene. And not only this, a number more might be mentioned, equally just and well designed; but these the examiner's good taste will easily lead him to distinguish.

Now we are thus far on our progress, let us turn, and take a transient view of the sculptures; on which subject, indeed, something has been already said, Vol. i. p. 71 and our opinion declared, that they were infinitely superior, in general, to the MS. delineations: and this seems to be a convincing proof that their priests and illuminators, especially amongst the Normans, were neither their only, nor yet their best artists;—amongst the Normans I say, because so few figures of the Saxon sculpture now remain, and even those have so much suffer'd from the destructive hand of time, that no competent judgment can possibly be framed of them. But of the Normans, a great number of very excellent figures are yet to be seen: amongst them all, I have found none so finely executed as those monumental effigies heretofore mentioned to be seen at Danbury church in the county of Essex. Vol. i. p. 25 The proportion of them is so just, the drapery flows with such real taste, and such an elegant turn is given to each figure, that the carver must certainly have been an artist of vast genius and surprising execution; and though they are all of them cut in wood, upon the lids of the coffins, yet they are (two especially) entirely divested of that awkward stiffness which is usually found in such monumental remains. One of them is drawing his sword; the second is returning his into the scabbard; and the third seems at his devotions. Their size is rather larger than life.

But notwithstanding, this perfection in their statues does not usually run through the whole of their performances; for the ornamental figures set up in their buildings, and also such as decorate the sides of their tombs, retain in general much of that Gothic stiffness and uniformity which so universally prevailed, even in the after times. The same may be said of the little figures (cast in brass) that surround the tomb of Edward the Third, in Westminster Abbey, which, in every other respect, are far from being bad specimens of the taste of that æra.—For my own part, I confess that, amongst all the various monuments which I have examined, even till the end of the 16th century, I have seen no figures, however excellent a number of them are, more beautiful than those of Danbury, described above; and though it is impossible to ascertain the exact date

date of their being made, yet their habit plainly proves them to be as ancient as the 13th century.

Throughout the whole of what I call the English æra, of almost all dates, are a vast variety of fine tombs to be seen; and so great is their number, that to enter even into a general description of them would far exceed the limits I have here proposed to myself: they justly merit to themselves an entire volume; I shall only express my concern that some able man will not resolve with himself to undertake so valuable a work: I mean to delineate and preserve all such ancient effigies as he may meet with curious and well executed, and the which, through neglect and barbarous treatment, are every day falling to ruin and decay.

But to return to the designs.—Plate VIII. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, represents the disputation between T. Becket and king Henry the Second. This composition is extremely pretty, and the two chief figures, the king and the archbishop, are well executed and expressive,—that proud prelate is in his *pontificalibus*, standing before the king, urging his grievances with a haughty boldness: the king, who is seated on his throne, seems with great displeasure to be answering him. Behind the archbishop are three soldiers, which are well disposed, and not inelegantly designed.—This illumination, I fancy, was made as early as the reign of Henry the Third.

From this period we find them making improvements in the finishing part of design, and greater regard was afterwards paid to the colouring; for before, few delineations consisted of more than two, three, or four colourings at most, but at last they increased the number, and varied the tints according to their fancy. And if in those plates, from N°. XX to XXXI. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities (which represent the latter part of the life of Richard the Second) we find more attention paid to the colouring and the finishing, yet there is not therein to be discovered that taste and genius which appeared in the outlines of *Mathew Paris*, mentioned before: not only the perspective is bad, but even the idea of symmetry and proportion seems to have been almost entirely lost.—Plate XXVIII. of this volume, besides those already mentioned, is a striking proof of this assertion: this plate represents the coronation of Edward the Second, and was most probably done about that time. Yet we may add, that, in point of proportion, Edward the Third and the Black Prince, plate XV. John duke of Lancaster, plate XVI. and Richard the Second, plate XIX. all in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, are exceptions to the above observations.

From this period to the reign of Henry the Fifth, the art continued much in the same state; but it was then considerably improved, as the little delineation of that prince and his attendants, plate XL. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, may sufficiently evince.

In the reign of Henry the Sixth there were several very excellent artists, whose works do great honour to that age; amongst which we may justly rank the delightful bistre drawing, copied plate XLV. of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. The hermit there is truly beautiful, and the figure of the earl of Salisbury is drawn with such taste, that it must strike every one; indeed the whole of the composition is extremely just and spirited. Other valuable specimens

Specimens are the portraits of the duke and duchess of Bedford, preserved in a missal highly illuminated, in the possession of her grace the dutchess dowager of Portland.—The figures on the XXIXth plate of this volume are also of the same age, and they are very far from being ill executed; the bishop in particular is not inelegant; the drapery also is well managed, and bears the marks of true taste.

About this period they began first to paint in oil, and the best specimens of their art at that time are the pannels of two doors which came from the abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and they were in the possession of the late John Ives, esquire, of Great Yarmouth.—In justice to the memory of that worthy gentleman, I take this opportunity of acknowledging the many obligations which he conferred on me; permitting me to see and make what use I would of his valuable collections, as well MSS. as other curious things: Vide Vol. 2, pag. 114.

In the reign of Edward the Fourth, the MS. delineations are very beautiful, and the designs executed (though still in the Gothic stile) with great accuracy and fidelity. I mean, when I say this, the draperied figures, for wherever we find an attempt made to represent the naked, they have by no means succeeded so happily, either in the drawing or the colouring; the former is always stiff, and without the least knowledge of nature, and the latter constantly either too white, or else, on the contrary, too red.

About this time were done those pretty, though slight designs of *John Rouse*, representing the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in the plates of the second volume. It will be needless to descant upon their merit, which must strike the observer without any such recommendatory observations: let him but look at plate LVIII. which represents the death of that noble personage, and he will there see how feelingly the designer has made his composition, how just the several attitudes are, and how striking the whole of the dismal scene is pictured to the view.

When oil painting began, and the arts met with encouragement in Italy, some of the artists, in their travels, reach'd this kingdom; but yet their genius was cramped, and their fancy confined; for the only subjects for some time were crucifixions, pictures of the Virgin Mary, of the saints, and of holy men, which were usually painted on the pannels of the doors of shrines, and the like: they also still continued to be done in the former stiff stile, though several of them are extremely well executed.

Under the auspices of Henry the Eighth, portrait painting was much encouraged, and vast numbers of the pictures of illustrious people, then done, yet remain, at the head of which *Holbein*, as chief captain, takes the lead; and this love for portrait painting no whit decreased in the succeeding reigns, as the numberless specimens which are yet to be seen in different parts of the kingdom may sufficiently testify; and though many of them are very fine, yet the stiff Gothic taste was never thoroughly conquered, until the arrival of those splendid geniuses, *Rubens* first, and after him his scholar *Vandyke*.

History painting was not even then much encouraged, and indeed the only man we had in that way, of any consequence, was Sir *James Thornhill*, who painted, amongst other things, the pictures in the dome of St. Paul's, and those

at the Royal Hospital of Greenwich ; but these are far from being either perfect or pleasing performances, and are considerably outdone by the artists of the present age, who have greatly advanced the art of history painting.

Caxton, the first English printer, when he learned the art of printing abroad, and brought it over with him into England, also was taught the manner of engraving, or rather cutting on blocks of wood, which he subjoin'd to some of his early printed books ; but they are so very rude, and so miserably executed, that they merit not the least attention. After him, *Wynkin de Worde* and *Pynson*, with the chief of the other printers, followed his example : *Pynson's* most considerable work, in this way, is to be seen in his edition of the "Ship of Foles of the Worlde," which he printed Ann. Dom. 1508, and before each chapter placed a wooden block, containing a representation of figures relative to the contents of the chapter, the which it preceded. Specimens of these figures are given plate 1, of this volume, all of which are from the above book.—In queen Elizabeth's reign they brought the cutting on blocks of wood to great perfection, as may be seen in the prints given in Fox's Book of Martyrs, the early editions ; several of which figures are copied upon the plates of this volume.

Although engraved prints are nearly, if not entirely, coeval with these wooden cuts, yet it was a long time after, before they made their appearance in England, at least performed by English artists. It has been by some disputed to whom the invention of engraving may properly be ascribed, whether to *Israel van Meck* or *Martin Schoon*, amongst the Germans, or to *Andrea Mantagna*, the Italian painter, all of whom were cotemporary, and their engravings appeared nearly at the same period of time.—At the first invention of engraving, the whole of the work was performed with the graver ; for etching was afterwards discovered by *Parmagiano*, many of whose works are now extant. I shall not here enter into the considerations of the reasons assign'd for the first invention either of etching or graving, but shall go on to observe, that both continued a long time separate branches of art, the former being chiefly practiced by the painters, and the latter by the profess'd engravers ; but in process of time the French artists join'd them together, etching first, and then finishing with the graver the imperfections of the aqua fortis.—*Baptista Poilly* and *Gerard Audran* brought these arts to perfection, especially the latter, who not only far exceeded the former, but even all the artists who went before or follow'd after him : his engravings of the preservation of Cyrus, and of Time delivering Truth (both from *Poussin*) are the most perfect prints of their kind that ever appeared to public view ; nor must we here forget those admirable engravings of Alexander's battles, which are said to far exceed the pictures themselves. These excellent pieces will, without doubt, as long as they endure, remain the standards of perfection in this pleasing art.

'Tis but of late years that historical engravings have been encouraged in this kingdom, and now that branch of the art seems to be greatly advanced.—Portrait engraving has long been established (as well with the point and graver, as with the scraper) and some portraits as early as James the First's reign, done by one *Payne*, are very well executed, as also are several of *Faithorne* and others. But yet, after all, we are even now far behind with the French, if the works of

our

our artists should be compared with those of an *Edelinck*, a *Nantuel*, or a *Drevet*.—If in the former branches of the art the French are superior to us, in landscape we have a *Woolet*, whose equal yet the world hath not seen: add to him another, a Frenchman indeed, but yet chiefly educated under *Chatelan* in England; *Vivares* I mean, whose engravings from *Claude Lorrain* (in particular) are truly excellent and beautiful: and not only these two, there are several other artists who are making hasty strides to perfection. Who then knows but that we may, and I sincerely hope we shall, hereafter see an equal with *Audran*, and a portrait produced to vie with that beautiful one of *Champaigne* the painter, by *Edelinck*.

CONCLUSION.

Having now at length travelled through the long tract of the ancient times, I am at length arrived again at my own home, amongst the moderns; and I sincerely congratulate them on their advancement of the arts, and the general improvements made in every branch of polite learning. I most heartily wish that we may hereafter attain to a greater and more respectable name (if possible) than that which our ancestors do so deservedly possess.—And reader now farewell! I have only to beg of thee kindly to excuse the errors which hitherto have been discovered in this my laborious work; and believe that my only concern is, that it is not much more perfect, for your better amusement and satisfaction.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

OF THE EMANCIPATION

...should be compared with the ... of a ... or a ...
... in the ... of the ... the ... is ... in ...
... we have a ... whose ... of the world ... to him
... a ... in ...
... I ...
... and ...
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CONCLUSION

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END OF THE THIRD PART

ACCOUNT of the MANUSCRIPTS

From which the PLATES of this Volume are collected.

THE first is a Saxon MS. of the Gospels (in the Cotton Library) which was written by St. Ealdfrith, who particularly undertook it at the instigation of St. Cuthbert, from whence it received the name of St. Cuthbert's Gospels. It was written at the latter end of the seventh century, and at the beginning of the eighth was ornamented with its illuminations, by the hand of Bilfrith, an Anchorite.—See a full account of this book in the History of the Cotton Library, prefix'd to the Catalogue; and also in the Preface to the Catalogue of the Royal MSS.—This MS. is mark'd Nero, D. iv.

The next is a beautiful MS. in the library of Benet (or Corpus Christi) college, Cambridge. The Rev. Mr. Tyson, fellow of that college, has favoured me with the following account of the MS. as drawn up by Mr. Namsmith, in the catalogue of the MS. contained in that library, which is now printing for the public use:—

“ xx. Codex Membranaceus in Folio, *seculo* xiv. exaratus. In quo continentur

“ 1. Textus Latinus apocalypsis cum versione rithmica, et expositione lingua Gallica.

“ 2. Manere de coroner novel roy (d'Angleterre).

“ Imprimis observatione dignum videtur, quod post peractos sponsiones ex parte regia, quales alibi reperiuntur, communitas regni consilium inire jubetur, de iis quæ pro communi utilitate forent decernenda, et rex promittit se firma et rata habiturum, quæ decreverit communitas. Hæc ignorabant illo qui seculo præterito tam acriter disputaverunt* de sensu verbi *elegerit* in juramento a regibus nostris in solemnitate coronationis præstito. Lectori gratum erit verba ipsa ante oculos habere.

“ Granter vous les leys et les custumes et promettier a tenir les et defendre al honur de dieu que la commune de vostre realme offerra?

“ *Respon.* Jeo les grant et les promet:

“ Et puis a ceo ferra arettee ceo que la comune voudera ordinee selonc ceo que lom entendra que bien soit.

“ Et quant tut ceo ferra fait et lui roy corone il avera tut ces grante, il fra le serment en la manere que le erceves qui lui chargera.

“ Ex loco citato satis apparet hoc promissum referre non ad leges jam stabilitas nec ad eas quas parliamentum postea decreverit, sed solummodo ad petitiones quas illo ipso die et inter solemnitates coronationis communitas regi obtulerit.”

Thus far Mr. Namsmith; and this singular and important fact may justly be esteemed a valuable addition to the former account of the coronation ceremonies, page 22.

To

* Vide Remonstrances of the commons, dated May 26, 1642, and the king's answer thereto.

To the foregoing account Mr. Tyson adds, "In the first page of the MS. is written—*Apocalypsis cum pictura, de dono dne Juliane de Leybourn comitisse de Huntyn dun, de librario Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis*—This inscription (which is not mentioned by Mr. Namsmith) will nearly ascertain the age of the MS. exactly. *William de Clinton* earl of Huntingdon, we find, about the year 1337 married *Juliana*, daughter of *Thomas Leybourn*. Perhaps the illumination may represent the coronation of Edward the Second; and to me there appears a striking resemblance between the illumination, and the portrait of that king by Vertue."

Another is from the Cotton Library, and is the History of Abbington Abbey, written about the reign of Richard the Second.—This is mark'd Claudius, B. vi.

The next is from the Royal Library; it is Hoccleve's poem *De Reg. Principis*, or The Government of a Prince. The hand is coeval with the time of Hoccleve, and this MS. may be written by himself. The poem was composed for, and presented to, Henry prince of Wales, who was afterward Henry the Fifth, but then only prince of Wales, as the author himself declares,—

Now, gracious prince, agayne that corone
Honoure you shall with roial dignitee, &c.

This MS. is mark'd 17 D. vii.

Another is from the Cotton Library, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and is intituled "The Pious Contemplations of Walter Hilton, an Anchorite."
—This is mark'd Faustina, B. vi.

Another also is from the Cotton Library: it is thus described in the Catalogue, "*Liber continens varias figurationes exercituum in acie pugnantium, tentoriorum, militum, penicillo depictas,*" &c.—This book seems formerly to have belonged to Henry the Eighth: it is mark'd Augustus 3.

The next is in the Royal Library, and is Gascoigne's translation of the Tale of *Hemetes*, the *Heremyte*, into English, Latin, and French, pronounced before Q. Elizabeth at Woodstock, 1575. Before the tale is the frontispiece (represented plate XV. of the present work) which is followed by this poetical explanation and address to the queen:—

Beholde (good quene) a poett with a speare;
Straundge fightes well mark't are understode the better!
A foldyer armde with pensyle in his eare,
With penne to fighte, and sworde to write a letter,
His gowne haulffe of, his blade not fully bownde,
In dowbtfull doompes which waye were best to take,
With humble haste, and knees that kyss the grownde,
Presentes hymself to you for dewtyes sake,
And thus he saithe:—No daunger (I protest)
Shall ever lette this loyall harte I beare
To serve you, so as maye become me best,
In fielde, in towne, in courte, or any where;
Then peerless princes, employe this willinge man
In your affayres, to do the beste he cann.

Tam Marti quam Mercurio.

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION of the PLATES.

NO. 1, 6, 9, and 10, gentlemen; 2 and 7, ladies; 3, counsellor; 4, serjeant at law; 5, a poor woman with a distaff; 8, a rustic; 11, the fool and a beau.—All these are from Pynson's Ship of Fools, printed 1508; vide page 75 of this volume. Plate I.

Military men in the reign of Henry the Eighth; vide pag. 10 of this vol.—All these are from a book in the Cotton Library, mark'd Augustus 2. II. to VII. inclusive.

Royal tents; see page 19.—These are from the above book in the Cott. Lib. VIII. & IX.

Plan of Henry the Eighth's camp; see pag. 7.—From the same book. X.

A masque at a marriage feast; see pag. 143, of this vol.—This plate is done from a large picture on board, in the possession of Mr. Thane, printseller. The picture contains a large portrait of Sir Henry *Utton*, and on either side the portrait is represented not only the most remarkable passages of his life, as his birth, his education, his travels, and his marriage, but also his death, his burial, and the monument which was afterwards erected for him. It was probably painted soon after his death, at the desire of some of his family. XI.

N^o. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8, are figures in the reign of Henry the Eighth (see pag. 79); 6, a figure of Sir John Tyrell, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; 5 and 9, are the habits in the reign of Elizabeth.—N^o. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8, are from Cranmer's Great Bible, published 1540; 7, from the Harl. MS. N^o. 2014; 5 and 9 from Höllingshead's Chronicle, 1577. XII.

1, a gentleman; 2, yeomen; 3 and 6, commoners; 5, a bishop; 4, Bradford the martyr.—These are all from Fox, in the reign of Mary; see pag. 83. XIII.

1, an archer; 2, a commoner; 3, a lord; 4, the sheriff; 5, a rustic; 6, lady Hunsdon, see pag. 86; 7, a commoner.—1 to 4, are from Fox, as above; 5 and 7, from Hollingshed, as above; 6, is from Vertue's procession of queen Elizabeth. XIV.

Queen Elizabeth and Gascoigne; see pag. 86.—This is from a MS. in the Royal Library, mark'd xviii. A. 48. XV.

1, Prince Henry, son to James the First; 2, a nobleman; 3, prince Charles, see pag. 11; 4, Robert Carr earl of Somerset, and his lady, see pag. 97; 5, 7, and 9, gentlemen, see pag. 98; 6 and 8, ladies.—1, from Drayton's Polyolbion, 1613; 2 and 3, from Bingham, 1616; 4, from an old rare print; 5 and 6, from the English Gentleman and Lady, 1631; 7 and 8, from a Discourse on Nuptial Love, 1638; 9, is the portrait of John Danesly, from his Paralipomena, 1639. XVI.

1, a sea captain; 2, a soldier, vid. pag. 11; 3, 5, 8 and 10, gentlemen, see pag. 15, 71; 4, a poor man; 6, John Lilbourn, pag. 101; 7, a lady, pag. 99, 100; 9, a commoner, pag. 101.—1 and 2, are from the Navigator, by captain Charles Saltonstall, 1642; 3 and 4, from the Miscellania Spiritualia, 1648; 5 and 7, from Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, 1653; 6, from an old scarce print; 8 and 10, from 2014 MS. Bib. Harl.; 9, from the Honest Ghost, 1658. XVII.

1, 2, 6, and 8, gentlemen, pag. 103; 3, a falconer; 4, a hunter; 5 and 9, rustics, ib. et 104.—These are all from Hollar's prints of hunting, hawking, and fishing. XVIII.

- Plate XIX. N^o. 1, a baronet, vid. pag. 104; 2, Charles the Second and his queen, ib.; 3 and 4, a gentleman and his attendants, pag. 97; 5, a knight; 6, a gentleman; 7, a groom, pag. 104; 8, a mourner at a funeral; 9, the herald carrying the crest of the defunct.—1, 5, 6, and 7, are from the funeral procession of General Mopk; 2, from Heath's Chronicle, 1662; 3, from a book of hawking, 1608; 7 and 8, from Mr. Thane's picture as before mentioned, plate 11.
- XX. 1 to 7, figures of the ancient loaves of bread, pag. 57; 8, 10, and 11, penance, page 46, 47; 9, a man hanging, pag. 47; 12, the ancient theatre, 140.—1 to 7, from the Book of Affize; 8, 9, 10, and 11, from Fox, as above; 12, from a very old edition of Terence.
- XXI. 1 to 12, the arms for a horse soldier, pag. 11; A. to F. of the pikemen; I. to IV. of the musketeer, pag. 11.—All these from Bingham's Tactics, ut supra.
- XXII. 1, the crown of Henry the Eighth; 2, the crown of queen Mary; 3, the globe; 4, the crown of Charles the Second; 5, the circlet of gold worn by queen Caroline; 6, Henry the Eighth's cap; 7, a particular cap, pag. 102; 8, the stuff'd breeches, 103; 9, 10, 11, 12, habits in the reign of Elizabeth; 13, 14, 22, breeches and stockings, vide pag. 83; 15, the high head dress in William and Mary's time, pag. 104; 16, head dresses, pag. 104; 17, the savorde, pag. ib. 18, a gentleman in Charles the Second's reign, ib.; 20, sleeves, ib.; 21, a petticoat, ib.—N^o. 1, from the great seal of Hen. 8; 2, from the seal of queen Mary; 3, 4, 5 and 6, from a book of coronations, 1760; all the rest from a MS. in Bib. Harl. 2014.
- XXIII. to XXVI. incl. The four Evangelists, from Nero, D. vi.—See page 181.
- XXVII. The coronation of Edward the Second, from a MS. N^o. XX. in Corpus Christi college at Cambridge.—See the account of the MSS. page 189.
- XXVIII. A battle, which shews the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, This is given because it represents in a clearer manner the armour in the time of Richard the Second, about whose reign this illumination was done. This is from Claudius, B. 6.
- XXIX. Three curious figures done in the reign of Henry the Sixth: they each of them in the original hold a long scroll, on which is written the lines as follows.—The first is the knight, and his scroll contains these words,
 I wende to dede knyghtes stiche in floure; thurgh the syghte in selde & wanne the floure;
 Pa fighetes me taght the dede to quell; I wend to dede, soth I yow tell.
 On the king's scroll,
 I wende a kynge I wyffe; What helps honor or weyldeis blyffe?
 Dedde is to mane the kynde wai: I wende to be clade in clay.
 On the bishop's roll,
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 Some has me made the dede abe ende: beese waze with me to dede I wende.
 These figures are taken from a MS. in the Cott. Lib. mark'd Faustina, B. vi.
- XXX. Is a curious and valuable portrait of king Henry the Fifth, while he was prince of Wales, and Hoccleve, who is kneeling before him, and presenting his book, "*De Regimine Principis*," for that prince's acceptance.—This is taken from a MS. in the Royal Lib. mark'd 17 D. vi.



COMPLETE INDEX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.



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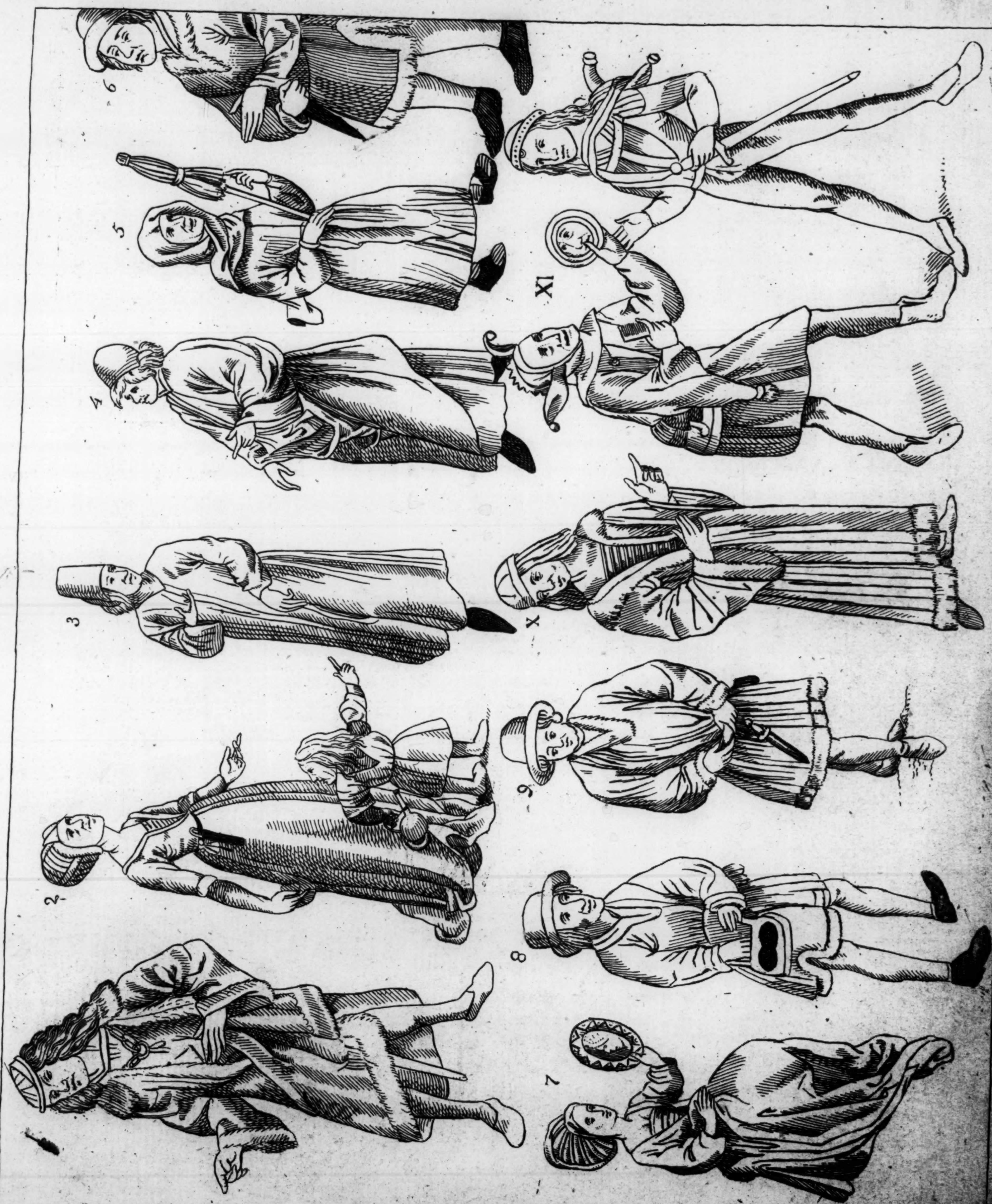
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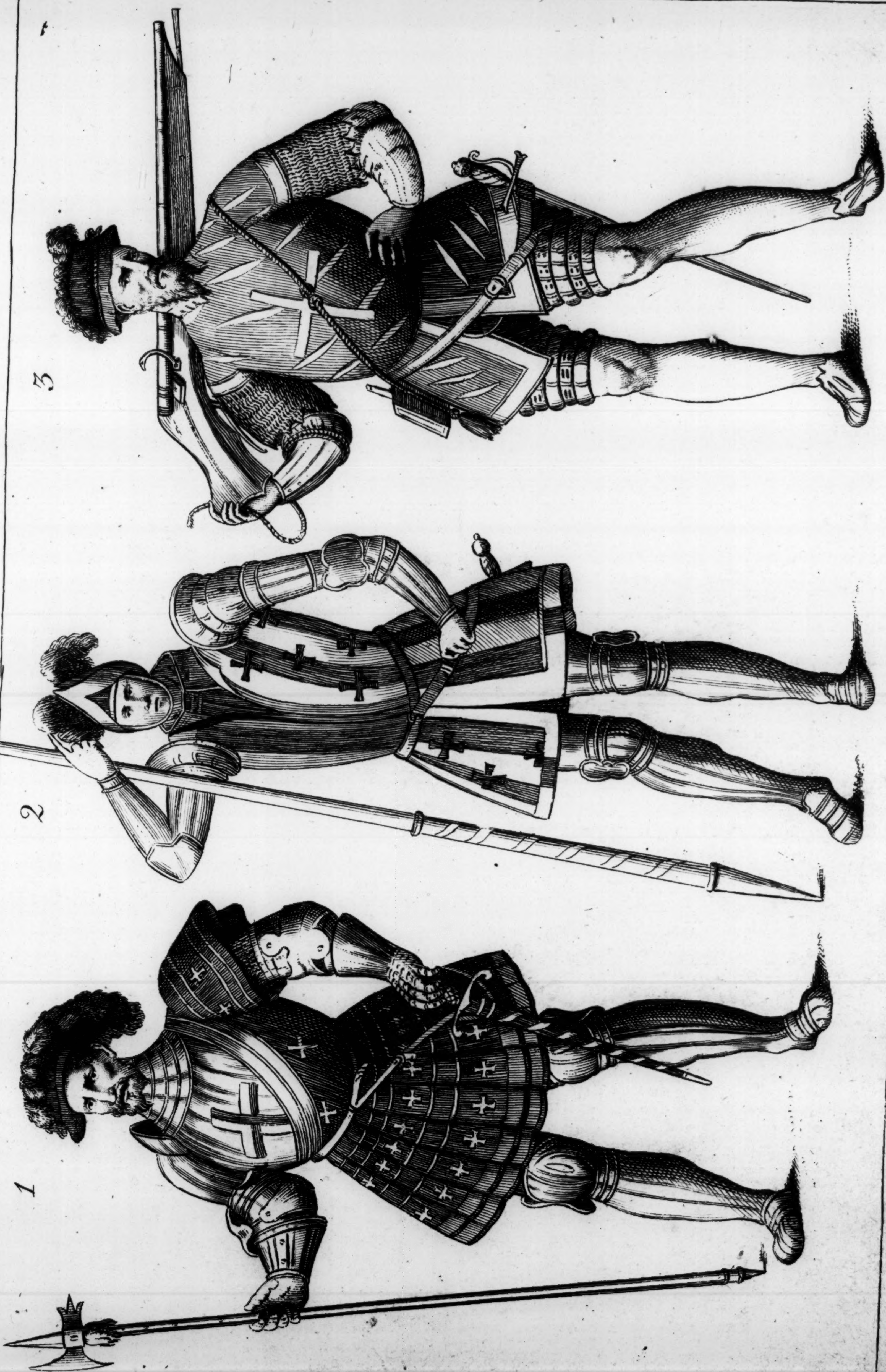
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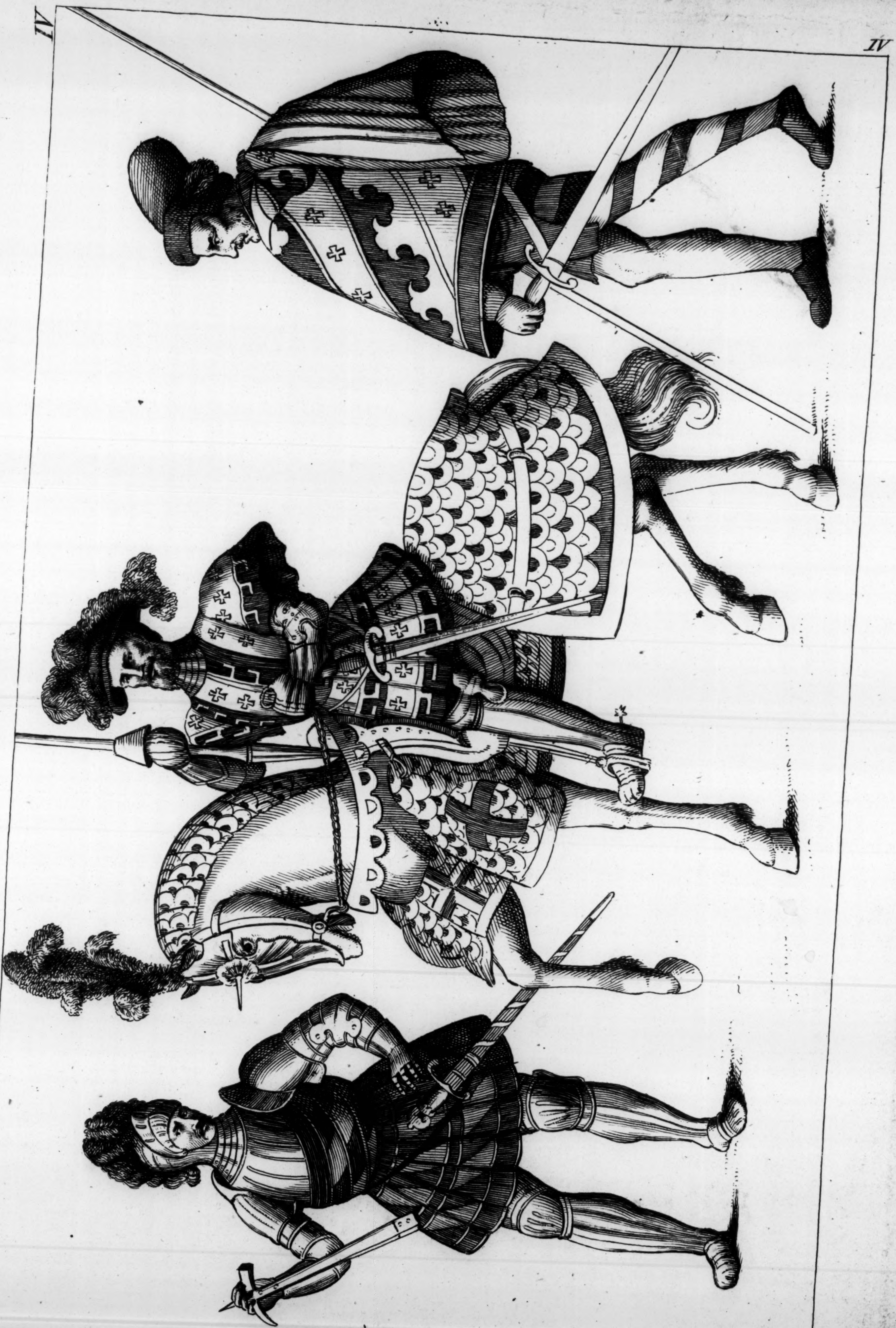
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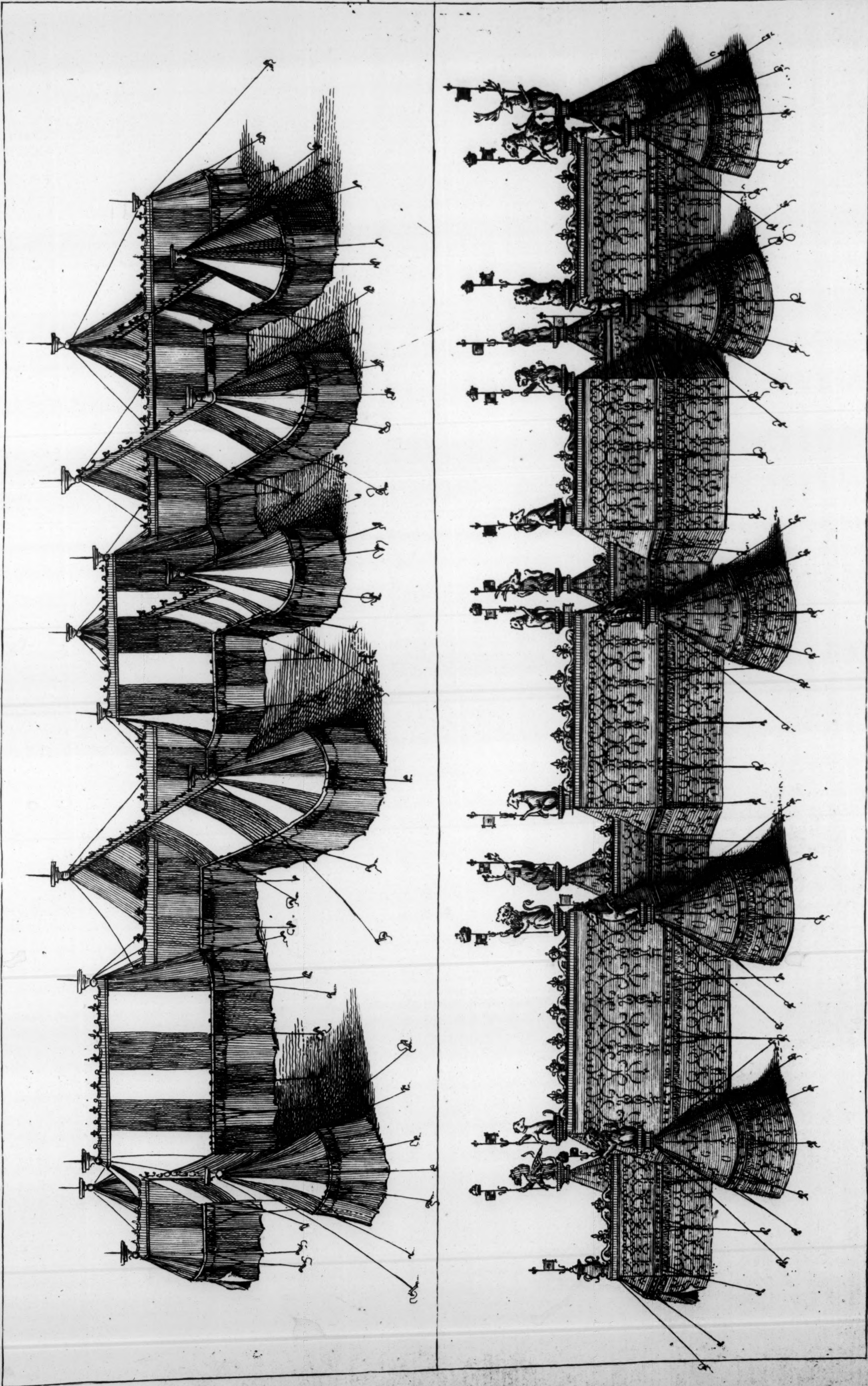




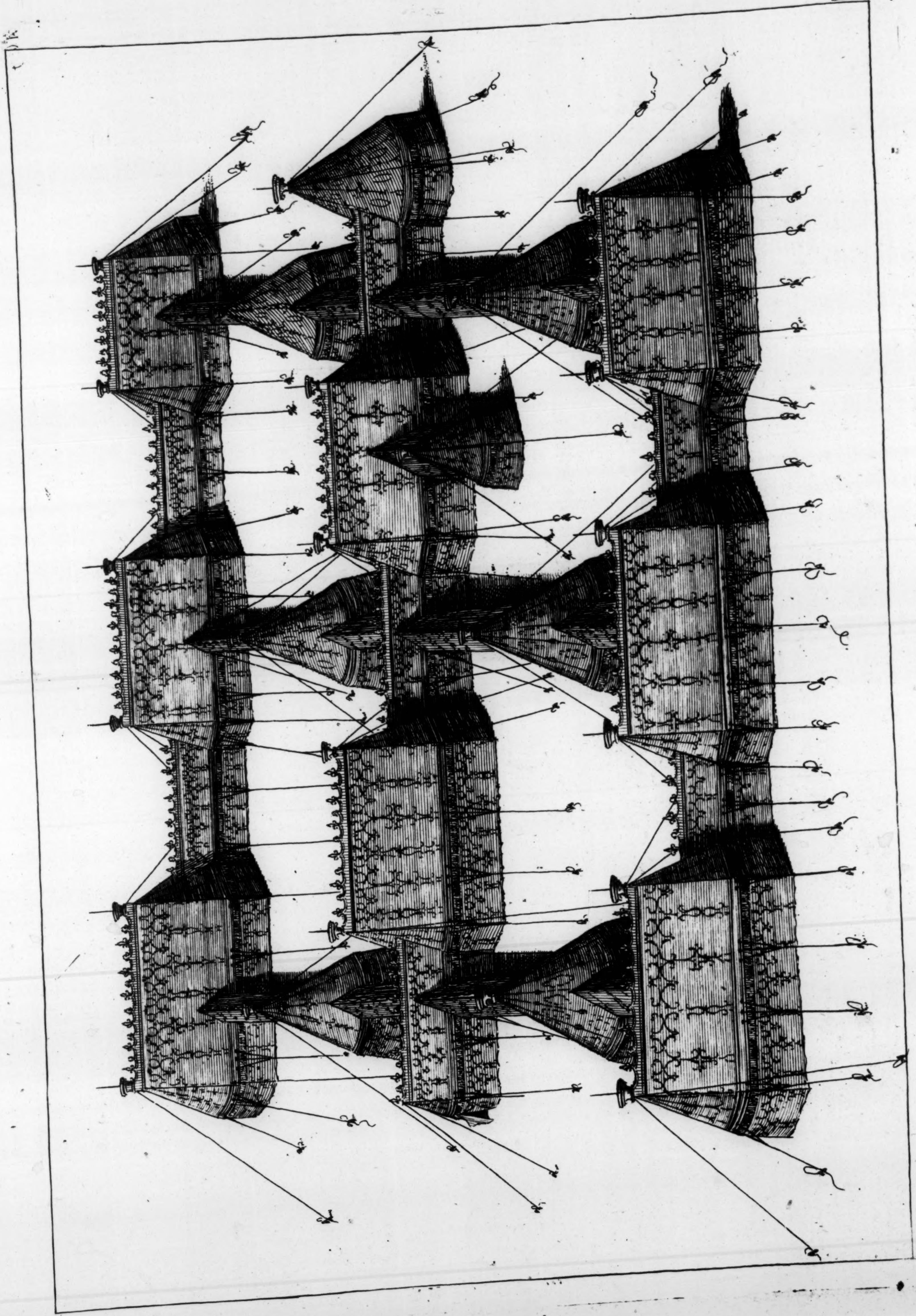




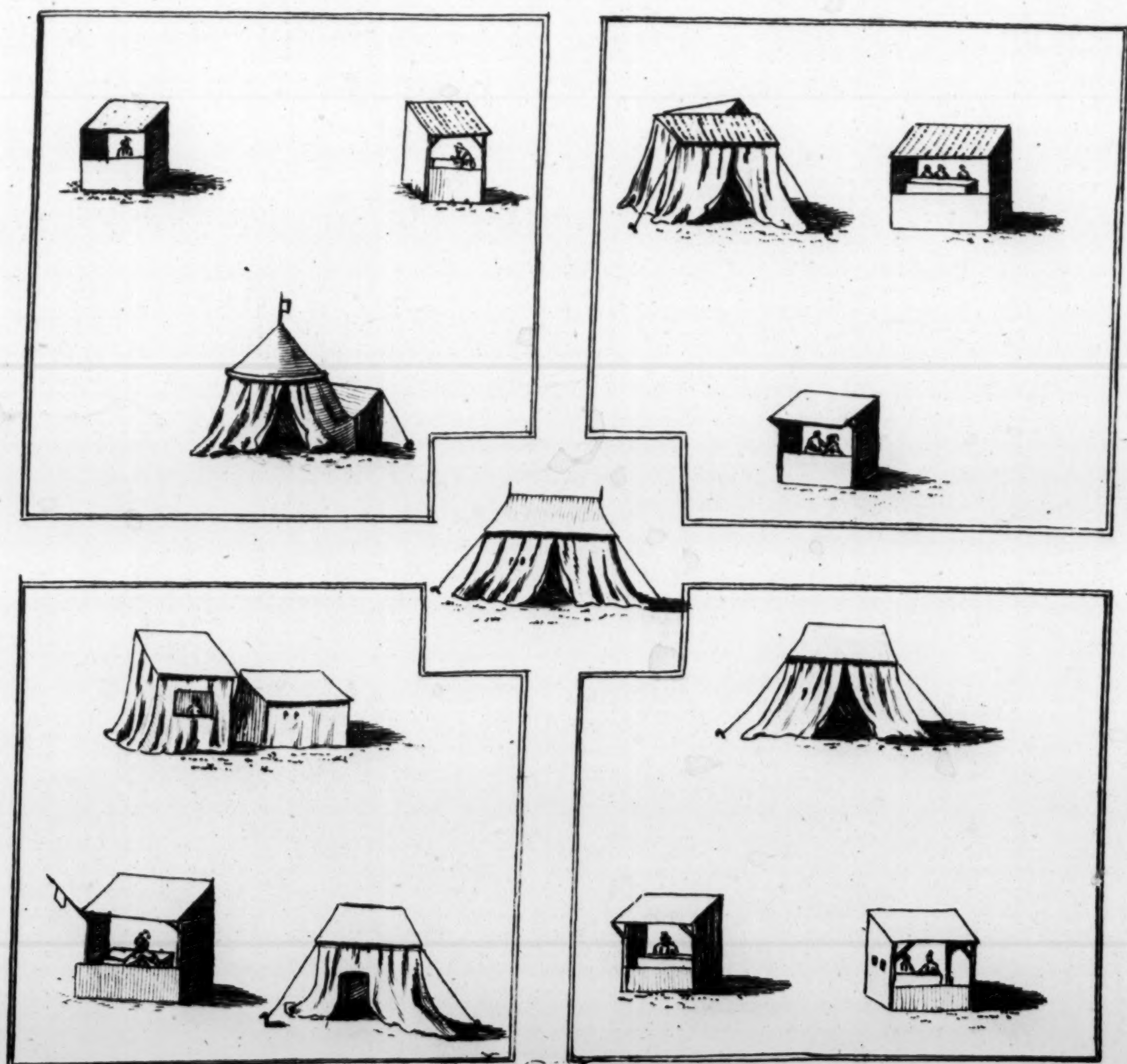
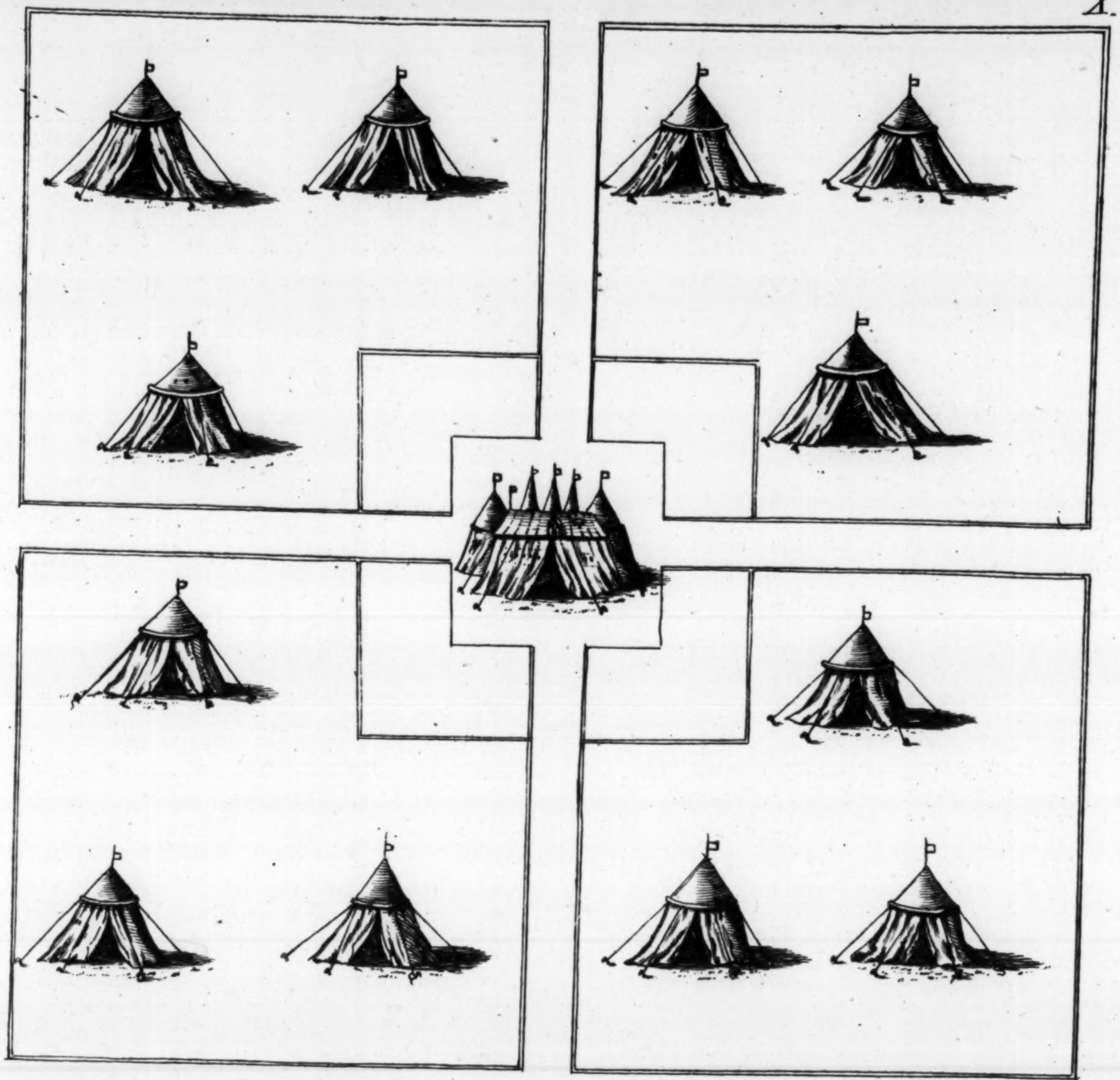




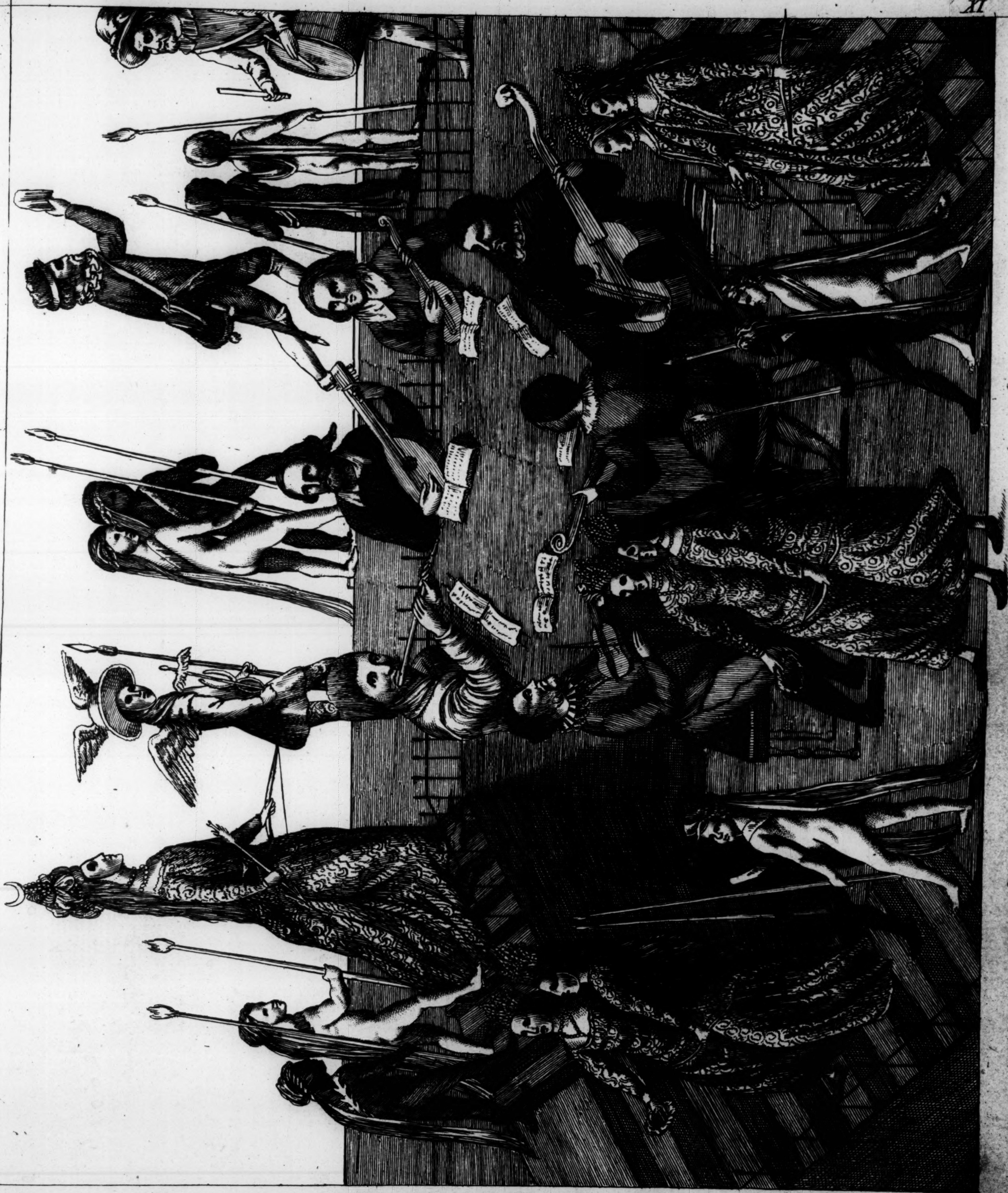












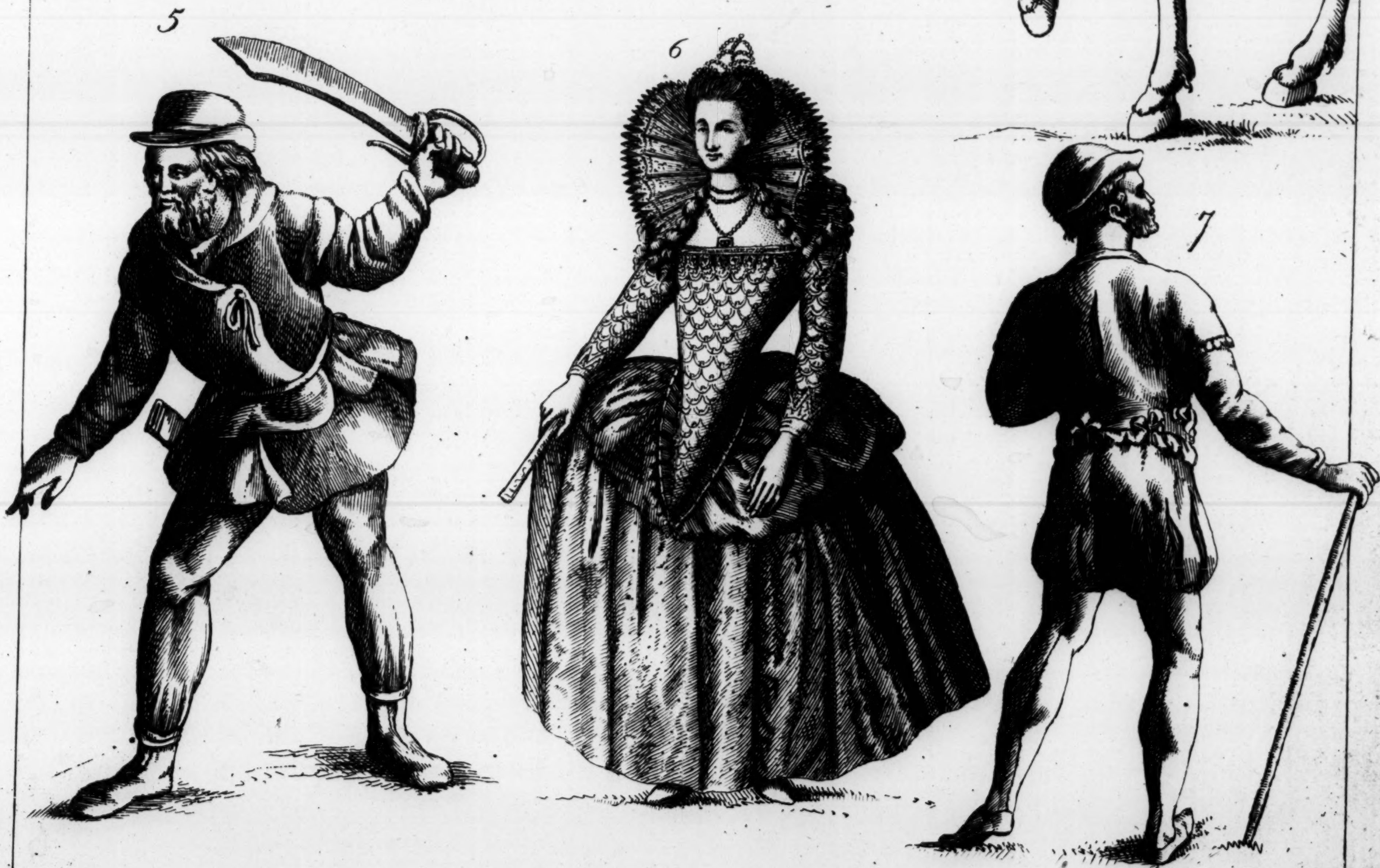








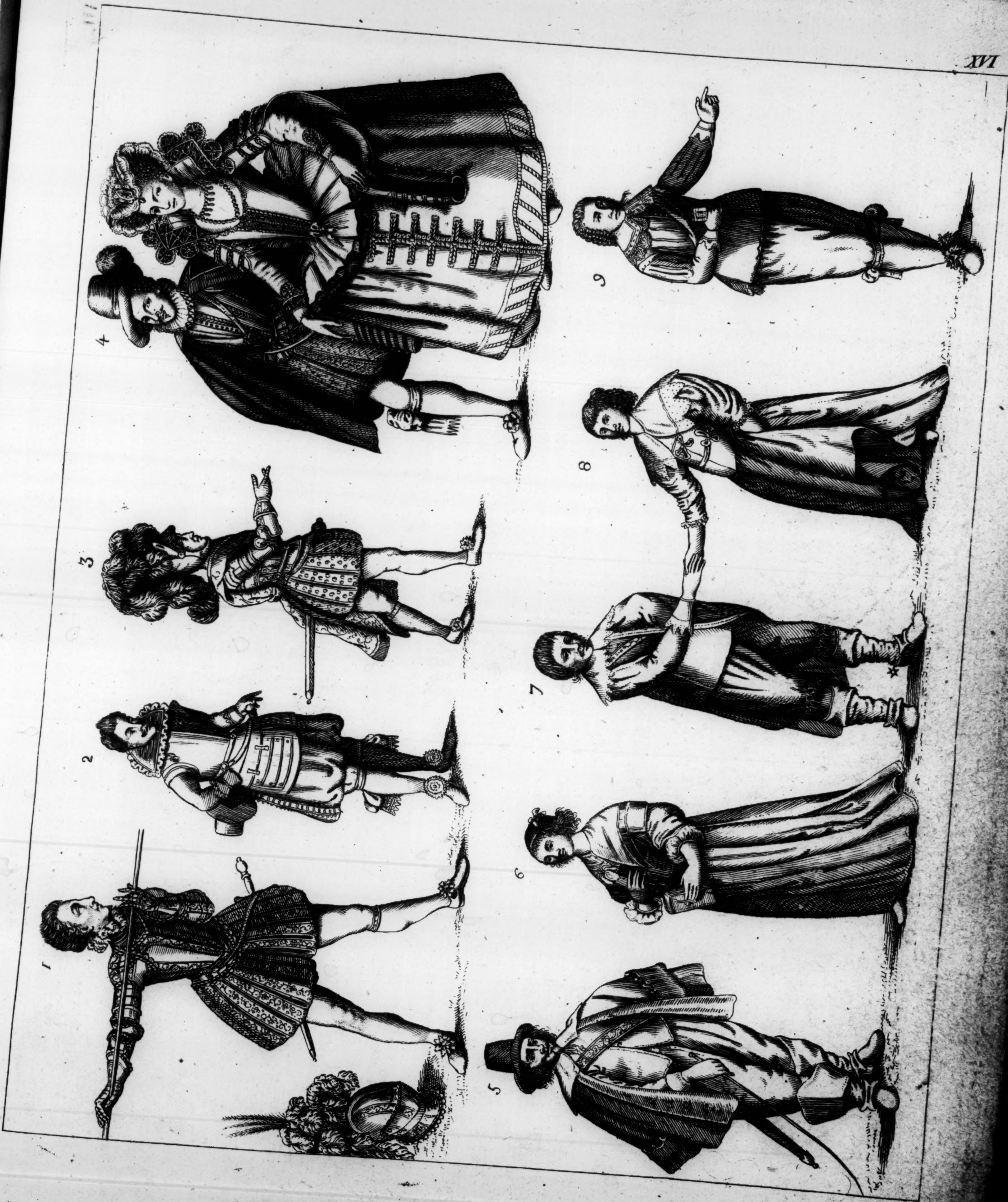




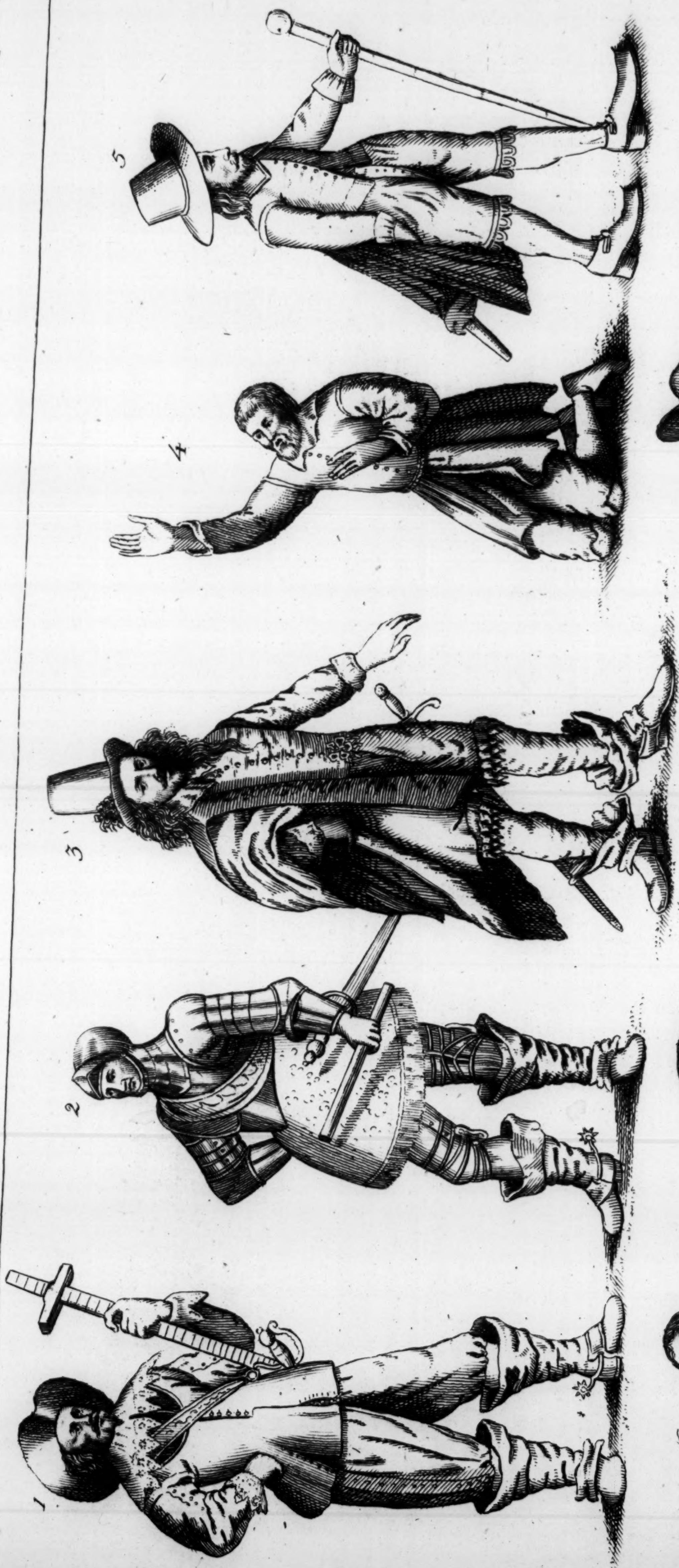








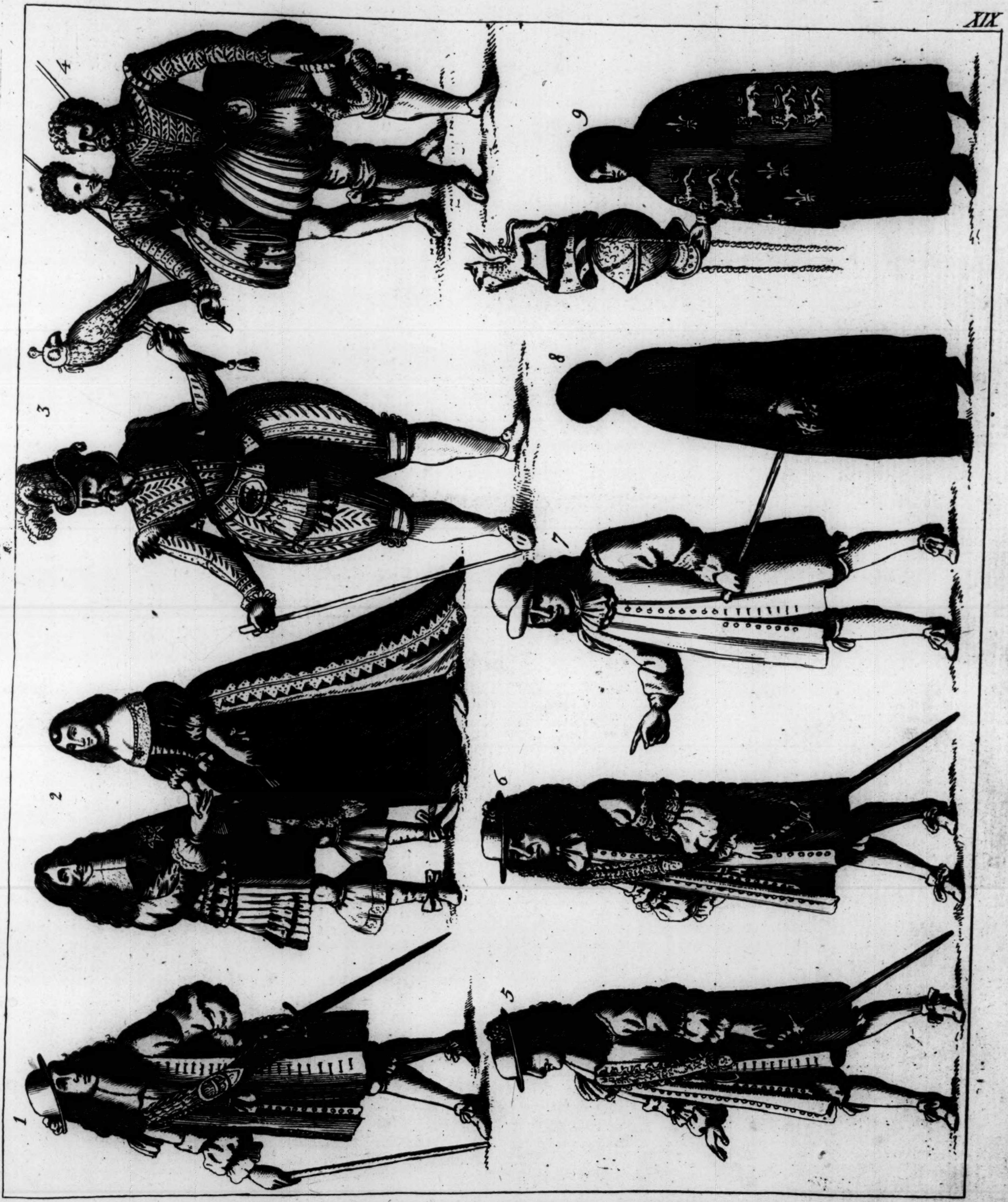








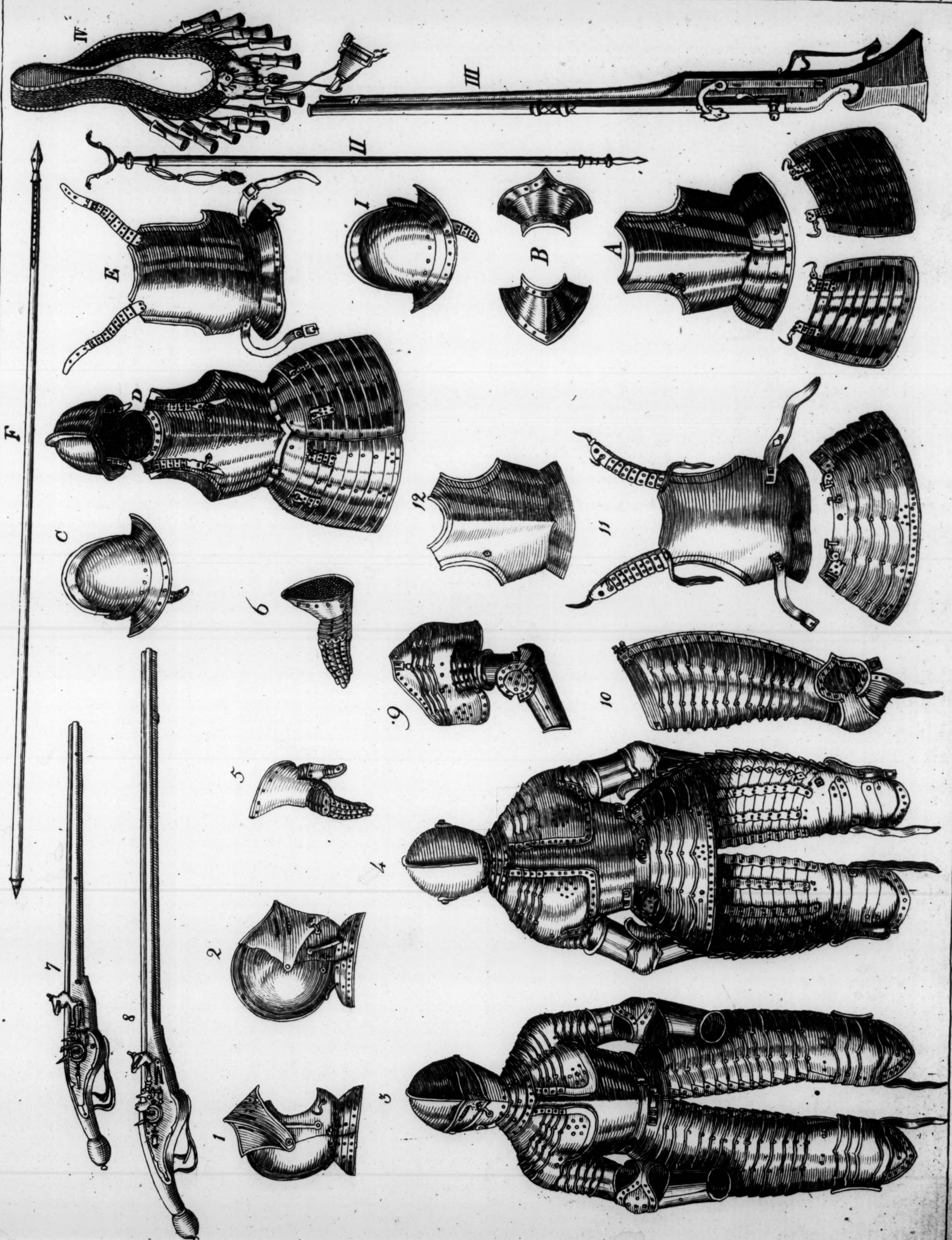










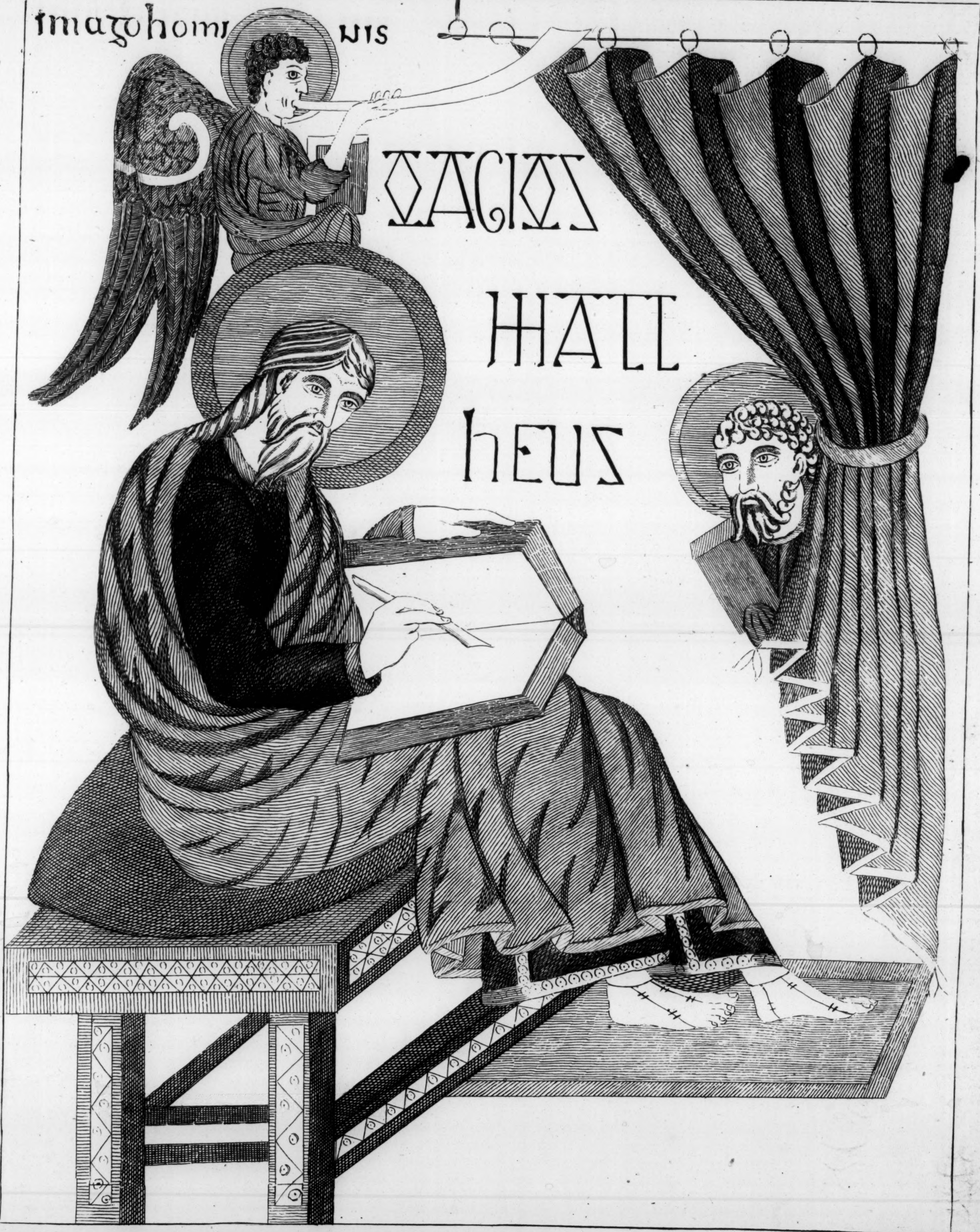








imago hominis



SAGITZ

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II

ΑΓΙΟΣ

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ





Imago aequilae









